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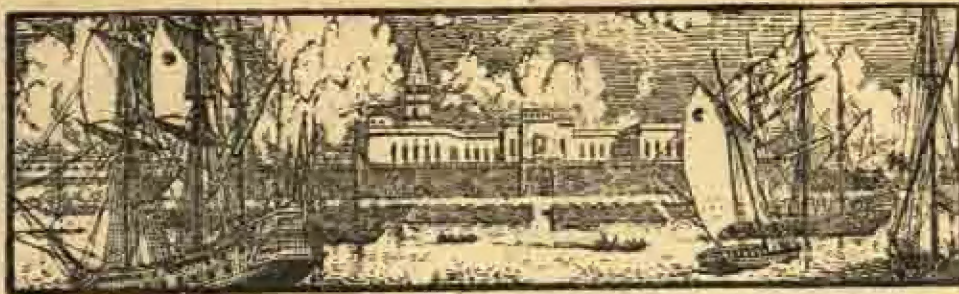
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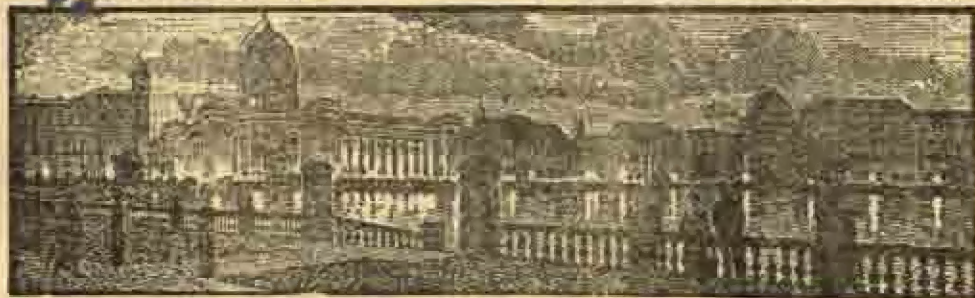
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A circular portrait of a man with a high-collared shirt and a dark jacket, looking slightly to the left. The portrait is set within an ornate, leafy wreath that frames the central text area.

JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Samuel Peake Esq., of Durrington House, Sussex. Governor of Bengal, 1718.

Foreword.



THE special attention of members is drawn to the account of the proceedings of the Society's General Meeting held on the 8th May, which will be found on page 247 of this issue. If,—as it is hoped may be the case,—the negotiations to be entered into with the Asiatic Society result in the amalgamation of the Calcutta Historical Society therewith, it seems probable that this will be the last number of *Bengal: Past and Present* in its present form; but, as Mr. Justice Stephen stated in his speech at the General Meeting, there is reason to suppose that the Asiatic Society would not fail to take advantage of the accession of the Historical Society's membership to its body either by issuing a form of Historical Journal of its own, or by devoting some portion of its regular monthly publications to contributions dealing with matters of historical interest. It is just possible that there may be sufficient matter in hand after the publication of the present number of *Bengal: Past and Present* to allow of the issue of yet another number three months hence, but, pending the result of the negotiations aforesaid, nothing definite in this regard can be predicted.

The cordial thanks of the Society are due to Mr. F. W. Madge for having kindly consented, in the absence of Mr. Firminger, to see the present number of the Society's Journal through the Press.

Copies of the Annual Report for 1910 have been posted to all members at the addresses noted in the Society's books. There are reasons for believing, however, that some of those addresses are now incorrect, and the undersigned would be much obliged if those members who have not received their copies, or whose communications from the Society have been incorrectly addressed, would furnish him with accurate particulars.

A. W. WATSON, I.C.S.,
Honorary Secretary.

May 26th 1911.



History of the College of Fort William from its first Foundation.

1ST INSTALMENT.



THE College of Fort William was founded by His Excellency Marquis Wellesley, Governor-General of India, in the year 1800. The reasons which weighed with His Excellency and led him to take this decisive step are fully detailed in the Minute in Council, dated 18th August 1800. After dwelling upon the extent and population of the British possessions in India and the administration of Government of these vast dominions by the European civil servants of the East Indian Company, His Excellency lays stress upon the fact that the duty and policy of the British Government in India require that the system of confiding the immediate exercise of every branch and department of the government to Europeans educated in its own service and subject to its own direct control should be infused as widely as possible, as well with a view to the stability of our own interests, as to the happiness and welfare of our native subjects. This policy, it is pointed out, greatly enhances the magnitude and importance of the duties performed by the European civil servants of the East Indian Company—the dispensation of justice, the administration of so vast a revenue system, the maintenance of civil order, among millions of people of various languages, manners, usages and religions, over an area equal in extent to some of the most considerable kingdoms in Europe, make up the duties of the larger proportion of the civil servants of the Company. The pleadings in the courts are conducted in the native languages. The law which the Company's Judges administer is not the law of England but that law to which the natives had long been accustomed under their former sovereigns, tempered and mitigated by the voluminous regulations of the Governor-General in Council as well as by the general spirit of the British Constitution. As a consequence, qualifications of the highest order must be possessed by those upon whom these ampler duties devolve, if they are to acquit themselves honourably of the charge entrusted to them. The same is true of every department, be it judicature or revenue, political or financial or

diplomatic. It is certainly desirable that all these stations should be filled by the civil servants of the Company, and it is equally evident that the qualifications requisite are far outside the limits of a commercial education. The civil servants, His Excellency continues, can no longer be considered as the agents of a commercial concern, they are in fact the ministers and officers of a powerful sovereign. Their education must therefore be so ordered as to fit them for the high duties of statesmen placed among the difficult surroundings inherent in the climate, the language and the strange manner and customs and peculiar prejudices of the people of India. "This education must be founded in a general knowledge of these branches of literature and science which form the basis of the education of persons destined to similar occupations in Europe. To this foundation should be added an intimate acquaintance with the history, languages, customs and manners of the people of India, with the Mahomedan and Hindu codes of law and religion and with the political and commercial interests and relations of Great Britain in Asia. They should be regularly instructed in the principles and system which constitute the foundation of that wise code of regulations and laws enacted by the Governor-General in Council, for the purpose of securing to the people of this empire, the benefit of the ancient and established laws of the country administered in the spirit of the British Constitution. . . . they should be sufficiently grounded in the general principles of ethics, civil jurisprudence, the laws of nations and general history, in order that they may be enabled to discriminate the characteristic differences of the several codes of law administered within the British Empire in India, and practically to combine the spirit of each in the dispensation of justice and in the maintenance of order and good government. Finally their early habits should be so formed as to establish in their mind such solid foundations of industry, prudence, integrity and religion, as should effectually guard them against these temptations and corruptions with which the nature of the climate and the peculiar depravity of the people of India, will surround and assail them in every station especially, upon their first arrival in India . . . nor should any precaution be relaxed in India which is deemed necessary in England to furnish a sufficient supply of men, qualified to fill the high offices of the State, with credit to themselves and with advantage to the public. His Excellency then proceeds to comment upon the lamentable absence of any such system of educational discipline whether in Europe or in India, the age at which writers usually arrive in India, namely, between sixteen and eighteen, is hardly calculated to ensure anything but a very limited education, confined principally to commercial knowledge, so that they are as a class absolutely incompetent to perform the duties of any station whatever in the civil service of the Company, beyond the

menial, laborious, unwholesome and unprofitable duty of a mere copying clerk. On arrival in India they have no mean of increasing their knowledge of the subjects in which they have received so defective an education. If stationed upcountry they at once find themselves brought face to face with duties they are incompetent to perform, and with difficulties they are too inexperienced to meet, and as a result become both despondent and indolent, or if of both disposition become discouraged by the hopeless task or struggling along their dark road without any guide and at length give it up in despair. After two or three years spent in copying records, in itself a laborious and fruitless task, they find that they have lost the fruits of their European studies without having gained any useful knowledge of Asiatic literature or business. If on the other hand they are employed in the Presidency, they have the additional obstacles of indulgence and extravagance, and frequently fall into irretrievable courses of gaming and totally destroy their health and fortunes. Some succeed in the ordinary progress of the service to employments to which their incapacity or misconduct becomes conspicuous to the natives, disgraceful to themselves and injurious to the State. These evils are enhanced by the system which enables young men or sixteen or eighteen to pursue their own inclinations without any guidance or restraint, far from the superintendence of parent, guardian or master. The ancient hospitality which led to the keeping of open house by the senior civil servants for the entertainment of the young writers on first arrival in India is, His Excellency observes, no longer possible in view of the curtailment of income arising from the restrictions imposed upon civil servants as regards their legitimate sources of income. Consequently young men in their first arrival have to provide for themselves at the cost of a greater expense and temptation to luxury and dissipation. This picture is gloomy enough, but, in His Excellency's opinion, the state of the civil services of Madras and Bombay was even more defective than that of Bengal, and he holds it to be a duty incumbent on the Government to remove any obstacles tending it to embarrass or retard the progress of their servants in attaining the qualifications necessary for their respective stations. No extraordinary or even general exertions of these servants can release the Government from this duty. The nature of our establishment should furnish fixed and systematic encouragement to animate, to facilitate, to reward the progress of industry and virtue: and fixed and systematic discipline to repress and correct the excess of contrary dispositions.

Upon the foregoing indictment of the existing system, Lord Wellesley bases his argument for the provision of some speedy and effectual remedy for the improvement of the education of the young men destined to the civil service in India, clearly showing that this was the one object which he had in

view in establishing the College of Fort William. He concludes in these words :—"The early education of the civil servants of the East India Company is the source from which will ultimately be derived the happiness or misery of our native subjects, and the stability of our Government will bear a due proportion to its wisdom, liberality and justice."

His Excellency then proceeds to define the education which he considers, should be provided as a remedy for the defects to which he has directed attention. Such an education he says must be of a mixed nature, its foundation must be judiciously laid in England and the superstructure systematically completed in India. He deprecates, however, the institution of examinations in England or the raising of the age at which writers are to be allowed to proceed to India, on the grounds both of private economy and public policy. Parents he says could not defray the cost of such an education in England, nor would civil servants have any reasonable hope of returning with a moderate competence to their native country at the expiration of their service were they to be detained in England till the age of twenty or twenty-two. Further, at this age they would be reluctant to break their home ties and proceed to India, while few would accommodate themselves to the habits, regulations and discipline of the service in India.

"His Excellency anticipates that many of them, after the twenty-five years' service, would settle permanently in India with evil consequences to British interests which he says it is unnecessary to detail, though it is not easy to see at this period of time what were the untoward consequences feared by Lord Wellesley. In fact by the light of the experience gained within the last fifty years his whole argument seems wanting in force, though no doubt the dangers he anticipated were real enough at the time."

He further urges the inadequacy of any European education to meet the requirements of the civil servant as regards the languages, laws and customs of India, all of which would have to be learned after the arrival of the student in India "at an age when the study of languages is attended with additional difficulties, when any prescribed course of study, when any systematic discipline or regular restraint, becomes irksome if not intolerable." He further feared that with ripe years they would be less easily controlled and more prone to fall into reprehensible habits at the nature of which he plainly hints. He finally dismisses as impracticable any suggestion for the increase of the age limit, and having regard to all the conditions His Excellency promulgates the regulations by which a collegiate institution at Fort William is to be founded. It is not necessary to quote these regulations in full.

By these Regulations the Governor-General was to be the Patron and Visitor of the College, and its governors the members of the Supreme Council



REV. DAVID BROWN.

and the Judges of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut (the High Court of Judicature) and of the Nizam Adawlut (the Central Criminal Court).

The Advocate-General and the Standing Counsel to the Honourable Company were its law officers, while its immediate government was to be vested in a Provost and Vice-Provost and such other officers as the Patron and Visitor shall think proper to appoint with such salaries as he shall deem expedient.

As the officers of the College were removable at the discretion of the patron and visitor whose every proceeding and act was, however, to be submitted to the honourable the Court of Directors and to be subjected to their pleasure.

The Provost was always to be a clergyman of the Church of England as established by law, and his primary duties were to receive the junior civil servants on their arrival at Fort William, to superintend and regulate their general morals and conduct, to assist them with his advice and admonition, and to instruct and confirm them in the principles of the Christian religion according to the doctrines, discipline and rites of the Church of England.

The first Provost was the Reverend David Brown.

II: LOCATION OF THE COLLEGE OF FORT WILLIAM.

It will be proper to state here that for some time prior to the establishment of the College of Fort William the Marquis Wellesley had recognised the importance to civil servants of an adequate knowledge of the native languages. On the 3rd January 1799 a Notification of the Public Department appeared bearing date 21st December 1798, directing that, "from and after the 1st January 1801, no servant will be deemed eligible to any of the offices hereinafter mentioned, unless he shall have passed an examination (the nature of which will be hereafter determined), in the laws and regulations and in the languages, a knowledge of which is hereby declared to be an indispensable qualification." The languages considered requisite were Persian and Hindoostanee for the Office of Judge or Register (*sic*) of any Court of Justice: Bengali, for the office of Collector of Revenue or of Customs or Commercial Resident or Salt Agent in the provinces of Bengal or Orissa.

Hindoostanee for the office of Collector of Revenue or of Customs or Commercial Resident or Agent for the provision of opium in the province of Behar or Benares.

In order to facilitate the acquisition of Hindoostanee certain junior civil servants were ordered in February 1799 to attend a course of instruction given by Mr. John Gilchrist, who appears to have had at that time a seminary

in Calcutta. This was the Mr. John Gilchrist, who was subsequently professor of the Hindoostanee Language in the College of Fort William, and was the author of several books on the language (Appendix in a minute of Council dated 17th August 1800, directions were issued for the publication of a Report by the Committee appointed to ascertain the progress made in the Hindustanee and Persian languages by the Junior Civil Servants of the Company, who were directed to attend Mr. Gilchrist for instruction in these languages. Examination in Persian was optional, that is Hindustani being compulsory. The report of the Examiners was to the effect that all the students "placed in the first class, without exception, manifested knowledge of the Hindustani language which greatly surpassed the expectations as to its extent and its correctness both with respect to grammar and pronunciation." The same remarks were considered applicable to a great proportion of the second, third and fourth classes. Some students however who from indisposition or other causes had been irregular in their attendance could not be so favourably reported on. The report ends with an expression of high appreciation of Mr. Gilchrist's merits, and is signed by the following gentlemen:—G. H. Barlow, J. H. Harington, W. Kirkpatrick, N. B. Edmonston, W. C. Blaquiere. A subsequent Notification dated 29th July 1800, publishes the names of the successful students, and confers upon them prizes "as public marks of distinction for the progress which they have respectively made in the Hindustanee and Persian languages. This order is of interest as recording the first occasion in which prizes of this kind were awarded. The recipients of medals and money prizes were.—*First Class*, Edward Scott Warring: First Prize in Hindustanee, a gold medal and the sum of Sicca Rs. 1,699. First Prize in Persian, Gold medal and Sicca Rs. 1,600.

Charles Lloyd. Second Prize both in Persian and Hindustanee for each language a gold medal and Sicca Rs. 1,500.

Mr. Lewis Makenzie obtained the Third Prize in both languages, a gold medal and Rs. 1,300, but unfortunately did not live to receive his honours.

In the *Second Class* appear the names of William Henry Trant (gold medal and Rs. 1,400), Thomas Fortescue (Rs. 1,200), Gordon Forbes (Rs. 1,000).

Third Class.—John Monckton (Rs. 1,100), William Butterworth Bayley (Rs. 900), James Hunter (Rs. 700).

Fourth Class.—William Morton (Rs. 800), David Morrison (Rs. 600), William Naym Martin (Rs. 500).

All the above gentlemen received the "usual allowance for a Moonshee" which was also given to the following in consideration of their having

made such progress in Hindustanee as to entitle them to that allowance:—

Francis Fanquier	} <i>First Class.</i>
John Walter Sherer	
William Blunt	} <i>Second Class.</i>
Charles Patterson	
Henry Hodgson	
Richard Chicheley Plowden	} <i>Third Class.</i>
Richard Turner	
Paul William Pechell	} <i>Fourth Class.</i>
Henry Dumbleton.	
David Campbell	} <i>Not attached to any class.</i>
Gilbert Coventry Master	
James Kinloch.	

The names of those who were unfavourably reported on are considerably reported, so that they are consigned to the limbo of unrecorded failures.

The Governor-General warmly recommends Mr. Gilchrist for his zeal, ability and diligence, and expresses his sense of the valuable service rendered by him "in having formed a valuable Grammar and Dictionary of the Hindustanee language," and referring to the "Collegiate Institution founded by Regulation IX, A.D. 1800" trusts that "that sense of public duty which has produced in many the most laudable efforts will ultimately animate the exertions of all."

The actual opening of the College of Fort William dates from Monday the 24th November 1800, on which date lectures commenced in the Arabic, Persian and Hindustanee Languages. The notice of these lectures is signed by David Brown, Provost, and is dated from Provost Chambers, Council House Street, the 15th November 1800.

By the scheme of the Institution as put forward in Para. XV. of the minutes of 18th August, 1800 we see that Professorships were to be established "as soon as may be practicable and regular courses of lectures commenced in the following branches of literature, science and knowledge:

Arabic	} Languages.
Persian	
Sanskrit	
Hindustanee	
Bengali	
Telenga	
Mahratta	
Tamula	
Canara	

Mahomedan law.

Hindoo law.

Ethics, Civil jurisprudence and the law of nations.

English law.

The regulations and laws enacted by the Governor-General in Council, or by the Governors in Council at Fort St. George and Bombay respectively for the civil government of the British territories in India.

Political Economy and particularly the commercial institutions and interests of the East Indian Company, Geography and Mathematics.

Modern languages of Europe.—

Greek, Latin and English Classics.

General History (ancient and modern).

The History and Antiquities of Hindustan and the Dekkan.

Natural History.

Botany, Chemistry and Astronomy.

The Patron and Visitor may authorise the same Professor to read lectures in more than one of the enumerated branches of study, and may at any time unite or separate any of the said professorships, or may found additional professorships in such other branches of study as may appear necessary.

Annual life pensions were payable to the Provost Vice-Provost after a complete period of seven years spent in the government of the College, and all professors, after seven years completed, were similarly entitled to pension subject to the condition of having received under the hand and seal of the Patron and Visitor, a testimonial of good conduct.

The pension was to be in no case less than one-third of the annual salary, and might be increased at the discretion of the patron or visitor (*sic*).

The first three years of service of all civil servants appointed on the establishment of the Presidency of Bengal, from the date of these orders, were to be spent at the College of Fort William and during that period of time, the prescribed studies in the College were to constitute their sole public duty. Moreover it was ordered that all civil servants on the Bengal Establishment of less than three years standing were to be immediately attached to the College for the term of three years from the date of the regulation. The College of Fort William was not, however, intended to be restricted to the Bengal Civil Service, the regulation goes on to say that any of the junior civil servants of the Company in India whether belonging to the Establishment of this Presidency, or to that of Fort St. George or of Bombay, may be admitted to the benefit of the institution, by order of the Governor-General in Council, for such term, and under such regulations, as may be deemed advisable." Similar privileges were extended to any of the junior military servants of the Company in India.

It appears, therefore, that the College of Fort William was intended to be an institution answering more to an University than a simple College, and, while Oriental languages were given a pre-eminent place in the course of instruction, they by no means filled the programme drawn up by the noble founder, and it is quite clear that were the students in any adequate degree to avail themselves of the instruction provided, the term of three years was never too long.

The College year was to be divided into four terms of two months each, with four vacations of one month each. Two public examinations were to be held annually, and prizes and honorary rewards were to be publicly distributed by the Provost in the presence of the patron and governors. Degrees were to be established and considered requisite qualifications for certain offices in the civil governments of Bengal, Fort St. George and Bombay: and promotion in the civil service shall be the necessary result of merit publicly approved, according to the discipline and institutions of the College.

The Provost was charged with the framing of Statutes, under the superintendence of the governors regarding the internal regulation, discipline and government of the College (see Appendix) but no statute could be enforced until it had been sanctioned by the patron and visitor.

In Para. XXVII, the whole institution is subordinated to the Court of Directors. It must not be forgotten that in promulgating these regulations the Governor-General was acting entirely on his own responsibility. That he had not consulted "the Honourable the Court of Directors" seems to have been the chief reason for the opposition they raised to his excellent scheme, particulars of this conflict of opinion will be found later on in this history.

The College was to be residential, and a common table was to be provided "for all the civil servants who may be attached to the establishment."

From considerations both of expense and uniformity it was deemed undesirable to establish Colleges at either Fort St. George or Bombay, the Civil Service of Bengal being considered "unquestionably farther advanced in every useful acquisition, and in every respect more regular and correct than that of either of the subordinate Presidencies." Madras and Bombay probably winced a little when they read this, and, unless human nature was different a hundred years ago, such a statement appears hardly calculated to extinguish the local jealousies among the several Presidencies of which His Excellency speaks in the same paragraph.

The admission of young military officers for which provision was made, was the first step towards the orderly instruction in Hindustani of officers belonging to native corps. Lord Wellesley kept also in view the advantage

likely to accrue to the native army from being provided with officers attached by regular instruction and disciplined habits, to the principles of morality, good order and subordination. It appears also from Para. 55 of the Minute that Lord Wellesley was contemplating the institution of another College to be a kind of Indian Sandhurst.

It must be remembered that this was before the days of Haileybury, and the Army Class and crammer had not yet been foreshadowed, much less evolved from the educational chaos.

But it is abundantly clear that the Governor-General laid quite as much stress upon the disciplinary restraint of his foundation, as he did upon its educational advantages. The students were to be *in statu pupillari*, to be received on arrival by the Provost a clergyman of the Church of England; provided with apartment in the College and with a common table, "consequently," he says, "they will be removed from the danger of profusion, extravagance and excess. Every part of their private conduct, their expenses, their connexions, their manners and morals, will be subject to the notice of the Provost and Principal Officers of the College, and (through the College authorities) to the government itself." When we consider the very early age at which boys came out to the services in those days, these precautions appear as salutary as they must have been necessary.

Every student in the College of less than three years' standing was to receive a standard allowance of Rs. 300 a month, without moonshee allowance. It was considered that this would be ample for all their requirements, save them from extravagance and debt, and offered opportunity for economy and thrift. The discipline of the College was to be "as moderate as can be consistent with the ends of the institution," improving no harsh or humiliating restraint and based on principles "combining the discipline of the Universities on England with that of the Royal Military Academies of France and of other European monarchies."

Paras. 65 and 66 make it tolerably clear to the novitiates of the Civil Service that it will be as well for them to lose no time in discovering the advantages to be derived from the institution, and in yielding a pleased submission to its regulations: neglect and exclusion from employment being held upon the punishment for any want of acquiescence.

An explanation in no sense apologetic is offered by His Excellency of his action in founding the College without previous reference to England, and it cannot be denied that in taking this step he was fully justified, relying, as he undoubtedly did, upon the support of the Honourable the court of Directors who seem to have been an uncommonly short sighted and obstinate body. The scheme set on foot by Lord Wellesley was beyond all question the most appropriate in the then existing circumstances, and

whatever were the ostensible reasons for the abolition to the College by the Directors, there can be no doubt that pique in the first place and parsimony in the second were the principal factors of their expression of dissent. This question of funds was originally raised by the Governor-General in Para. 72 of the Minute, in which he expressly disavows any intention of subjecting the Company to an expense on account of the institution beyond that which has already received the sanction of the Honourable Court of Directors independently of the institution. It appears that sanction had already been accorded to the purchase of Writers' Buildings provided they could be obtained on reasonable terms. Lord Wellesley now informs the Honourable Court of Directors, that these buildings cannot be obtained on such terms, nor can they be advantageously converted to the final purposes of the institution. He, however, states his intention of applying a sum of money equal to the just value of the buildings or to the rent then being paid for them to the purchase of a proper spot of ground, and to the buildings requisite for the College. The ground it is proposed to acquire is situated, he continues, in Garden Reach, where three or four of the present gardens will be laid together, a new road formed, and a large space of ground cleared and drained. This arrangement will improve the general health of the neighbourhood of Calcutta, as well as afford ample room for every accommodation required for the use of the College, or for the health of the students. This project was never carried out having been vetoed by the Court of Directors after the actual purchase of the land had been completed. It was resold at a small loss. Proceeding on to the question of the upkeep, Lord Wellesley says that he proposes to provide for the expenses of the institution by a small contribution from all the civil servants in India to be deducted from their salaries. This resource, he considers, will probably be sufficient for all present purposes, with the addition of the fund now applied to the moonshee's allowance, and of the profits to be derived from a new arrangement of the government printing press. But while not deeming it proper to subject the Company to any additional expense on account of the institution, Lord Wellesley points out that the advantages likely to accrue from the foundation in the extension of the blessing of good government to the many millions of people whom Providence has subjected to our dominions. He, therefore, feels confident that the approved liberality of the Honourable Court will certainly be manifested towards this institution to an extent commensurate to its importance, and opines that "it would produce a most salutary impression on India if the Court, immediately on receiving this regulation were to order the Governor-General in Council to endow the College with an annual rent charge on the revenues of Bengal, and to issue a similar order to the Governor in Council of Fort St. George with

respect to the revenue of Mysore, leaving the amount of endowment upon each fund to the Governor-General in Council." How this suggestion was received by the Court of Directors we shall presently see. Lord Wellesley also feels convinced that his College would meet with financial support in Europe : " those who feel any concern in the support of the British interests in India, and especially those whose fortunes have been acquired in the service of the Company or whose connections may, now or hereafter, look to this service for advancement, will undoubtedly contribute to the support of the institution. The Governor-General considered the College at Fort William to be the most becoming public monument which the East India Company could raise to commemorate the conquest of Mysore, he has accordingly dated the law for the foundation of the College on the 4th of May 1800, the first anniversary of the reduction of Seringapatam." Lord Wellesley then proceeds (para. 81) to state his reasons for selecting Garden Reach for the site of the buildings for the new College. Two objects were in contemplation, "*First*—That the ordinary residence of the student should be so near that of the Governor-General as that he may have the constant means of superintending the whole system and discipline of the institution. The distance of fifteen or sixteen miles in this climate would often embarrass the communication.

"*Secondly*.—That the College should be removed some distance from the town of Calcutta. The situation of Writer's Buildings is objectionable, on account of their being placed in the centre of the town, whereas the Garden Reach site is so near Calcutta as to allow the young men to avail themselves of intercourse with society, and is at the same time spacious and commodious. Further, it would not have been possible to obtain a sufficient area of ground in the situation of the Writers' Buildings even if they could have been purchased on reasonable terms. He goes on to say " As it will require a considerable time before the new building in Garden Reach can be completed, it is intended in the meanwhile to continue to occupy the Writers' Buildings, and to hire such additional buildings in the neighbourhood as may be required for the temporary accommodation of the students and officers of the College, for the library, the dining hall, the lecture rooms and other purposes. It will be necessary to make some considerable purchases of books for the foundation of the library the Governor-General will effect whatever purchases can be made with economy and advantage in India : lists of books will be transmitted to England by an early opportunity with a view to such purchases as it may be necessary to make in Europe : and the Governor-General entertains no doubt that the Court of Directors will contribute liberally towards such purchases. That part of the library of the late Tipoo Sultan which was presented by the army to the Court of Directors is

lately arrived in Bengal, the Governor-General strongly recommends that the Oriental manuscripts composing this collection should be deposited in the library of the College at Fort William, and it is his intention to retain the manuscripts accordingly until he shall receive the order of the Court upon the subject: he will transmit lists of the collection by the first opportunity. It is obvious that these manuscripts may be rendered highly useful to the purposes of the new institution, and that much more public advantage can be derived from them in the library of the College at Fort William, than can possibly be expected from depositing them in London. Such of the manuscripts as may appear merely valuable as curiosities may be transmitted to England by an early opportunity. Every scholar will sympathise with these liberal views, and it is an unfailing source of regret that Lord Wellesley's original intentions were defeated by the Court of Directors in whom he had such confidence, with the result that this unique collection of manuscripts was broken up and scattered to the four winds of heaven, instead of being preserved intact as a memorial of the famous victory of 4th May 1799. If it was deemed inexpedient to leave the collection in the possession of the College of Fort William, surely it would have fitly found a resting place as a whole in one library, the British Museum for example, rather than in fragmentary deposits in several libraries. It is a curious fact that the library of the College of Fort William, the original depository of this collection, finally had to content itself with one solitary manuscript. It is difficult to account for the attitude adopted by the Honourable the Court of Directors towards the Marquis of Wellesley in relation to the College of Fort William. His scheme was so complete, such a masterly solution of the problem of the education of civil servants as it presented itself at that time, that the failure of the Court to accept it appears inseparably associated with some private animus, originating perhaps in jealousy though possibly it may have been only ignorance.

This question, however, will be more fitly discussed later when we come to consider the answer made by the Court of Directors. It will be more interesting for the present to follow the fortunes of the College of Fort William from its earliest infancy.

III. THE STATUTES OF THE COLLEGE OF FORT WILLIAM IN BENGAL.

Although as already stated, the College was opened by the commencement of lectures on the 24th November 1800, the first Statutes were not promulgated till the 10th April of the following year in the following manner:—

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

The Patron and Visitor of the College of Fort William in Bengal, hereby enacts the following statutes for the regulation, government and

discipline of the said College and directs the Provost of the said College to promulgate the Statutes, and to carry them into effect from the date hereof.

FORT WILLIAM, }
10th April 1861. }

WELLESLEY.

The Provost of the College of Fort William hereby promulgates the following Statutes in obedience to the directions of the Patron and Visitor.

DAVID BROWN.

(For the Statutes, see Appendix B.)

The Statutes provided for the subscription by each student upon his admission to the College of a Declaration in the following terms :—

"I A. B., do hereby solemnly and faithfully promise and declare that I will submit to the Statutes and Rules of the College of which I am about to be admitted a Member, that I will ever maintain its honour, interests and privileges, and that I will be obedient to the Provost, to the Vice-Provost and to all the superior officers of the College in all lawful commands."

"A. B."

Which subscription being made, his Admission was to be recorded in the College Register, together with "his Age, Rank, Degree in any University, his native country and district, the time of his appointment to the service and of his arrival in India, together with his destination to the Establishments of Bengal, Fort St. George or Bombay."

Similar Declarations were also prescribed for subscription by all the Officers, Professors and Lecturers in the College who were also required to take the Oath of Allegiance to the King's Majesty (See Statute, Appendix B).

The Public Examination were to be held at the end of the second and fourth terms in each year, and the 4th May was fixed as the day on which the Prizes and Honorary Rewards of each year were to be announced, the public distribution of such prizes being made on the 6th February next following. The Committees of Examination were to be appointed by the College Council and the Examiners were required to subscribe the following Declaration, *viz.*

"I A. B., do solemnly and faithfully promise and declare, that I will give an impartial judgment of the comparative merits of the students now to be examined."

"A. B."

Public Disputations and Declamations in the Oriental Languages were ordered to be holden at stated times prescribed by the Council of the College, and every student was to be required to compose one Essay or Declamation in the English Language during the course of each term. The subject of



The Brown Family Vault, S. Park St. Cemetery.
(Photo. by A. Gibb, Esq.)

these Essays was to be proposed by the Council of the College and compositions meriting distinction were to be read in public. At a meeting of the College Council held on the 9th February 1802 it was ordered, that the first three essays of each term be printed in one volume, and that the Theses pronounced at the public Disputations in the Oriental Languages be printed in their respective languages.

Present.—The Reverend David Brown, The Reverend C. Buchanan and A. H. Harington Esquire.

These Essays were published in Calcutta at the Honourable Company's Press in 1802 and contain the Theses pronounced at the public Disputation in the Oriental Languages, on the 6th February 1802. The title page of this work of which there is a copy in this library bears the representation of the Eastern Hemisphere illuminated by the sun which is "in its splendour" above it, and in the circular frame with which this is surrounded are the words in Roman Capitals.

Redit a nobis Aurora decenque reducit, with the date MDCCC. This volume was presented to the College of Fort William by H. B. Bayley, September 1864. It contains several disputations of which the first is :

1. Disputation in the Persian Language. Position,—“An Academical Institution in India is advantageous to the natives and to the British nation.”

Defended by Mr. J. H. Lovete, Chief opponent, Mr. C. Lloyd, Second opponent, Mr. G. D. Guthrie, Moderator, Lieutenant John Baillie, Professor.

In the following year the title of *Primitiæ Orientales* was adopted for these publications. Volume II contains these for 1803 and Volume III for 1804. The title page bears a different design shewing a Muhammadan Mosque, some palm trees and a Hindu temple with the sun shining upon them. In a ribbon beneath them is the date IV MAII MDCCC.

At the expiry of his three years' course of study in the College, every student received from the Council of the College a certificate of proficiency and conduct. Attested copies of these certificates were submitted to the Visitor for entry in the public records of Government.

Degrees of Honour were conferable for peculiar excellence in the knowledge of any of the Oriental Languages, of the Mahomedan or Hindu Codes of law or of Oriental Literature, but no student could receive such a Degree unless he had obtained the certificate above-mentioned. The Statutes also provide for performance of Divine Service in the College Chapel, though whether the College ever actually possessed a Chapel is more than doubtful. Attendance upon these services were compulsory for all students.

Upon the Provost devolved the duty of guarding the moral and religious interest and character of the institution. In the event of his admonition

proving ineffectual, the circumstances of the case were to be reported to the Visitor.

It is interesting in this place to put upon record the fact that the first occasion upon which a student was reported to the visitor was when a certain Mr. Chisholme a student of the College was charged before Mr. Martyn, one of His Majesty's Justice of the Peace, on the 16th day of February 1802 with having assaulted one Jagonnaut Sing, a Vakeel of the Court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlat. The *fons et origo mali* was a cat which was "sitting in a shop near deponent's house. Mr. Chisholme set his dog at the cat which ran into this deponent's house, the said Mr. Chisholme followed the cat and attempted to go into this deponent's zennanah or women's apartment, this deponent begged him not to go there. That thereupon the said Mr. Chisholme gave this deponent two violent (*sik*) blows with his fist upon this deponent's forehead, and then he gave a blow with his open hand to the boy here present named Saum Sing upon his face and also he the said Mr. Chisholme aimed a blow with a stick upon this deponent's head, but he stept backward and the blow hit one Rani Deen upon his hand."

Mr. Chisholme admitted the assault, but denied any intention of entering the zennanah. In the end it was resolved that a report of Mr. Chisholme's conduct be made to the Acting Visitor.

The Council of the College was to consist of five members of which the Provost and Vice-Provost for the time being were to be two. The three remaining members were to be appointed by the Visitor. The following order is of interest in this connection. It forms the first entry in the Minutes of the Council preserved in this Library.

COUNCIL OF THE COLLEGE.—The Visitor has been pleased to appoint The Honourable Henry Lockesley, George Hilary Barlow, Esquire, and Neil Benjamin Edmonston, Esquire to be Members of the Council of the College

COLLEGE OF FORT WILLIAM, 24TH APRIL 1801.—

"The student of the College of the Fort William shall be provided with Apartment at the Expense of the College.

A public table for the students shall also be maintained at the expense of the College.

No student shall absent himself from the Public Table in the College Hall oftener than twice a week, during Term."

This is the wording of Article XI. of the statutes, and it will be agreed that the provision was uncommonly liberal, as the monthly allowance of three hundred rupees with free quarters and board compares very favourably with the conditions of service on first joining now a days. Consequently it cannot be considered a hardship that by the last article of the Statutes debt was held to disentitle the student to the receipt of his Certificate from

the Council. The above statutes remained in force till 1807 when they were repealed by Sir George Barlow under date 12th February. The alterations are not important, the principal changes being the omission of all reference to the College Chapel, students being merely ordered to attend Divine Service regularly. These Statutes also contain no reference to a Public Table for the students though they were still to be provided with Apartments.

Lord Minto in June 1809 repealed the statutes of 1807 so far as they related to the terms, and making certain changes of no very great importance. Divine Service was still kept very strongly in the foreground and it is stated that pews have been appropriated for the students in each of the Calcutta Churches. Students unable to attend by reason of illness or other unavoidable impediment must report the fact with their reason for non-attendance to the Secretary of the College Council, who at the period was W. Hunter. The Statutes bear for the first time on their title page the arms of the East India Company. In 1814 the Statutes again underwent a change by the orders of Lord Moira. These, the fourth Chapter of Statutes, are promulgated 1st July 1814 by J. H. Harington, J. Fombelle, and J. Stuart, and bear on the title page arms differing from those above referred to. As it is not heraldically engraved it is hardly possible to say what the shield is, but it reappears on two seals of the same period belonging to the College of Fort William and also upon the covers of certain books belonging to the College so that it seems to be the representation of the arms assumed by the College of Fort William about 1814. By these Statutes the Honourable Court of Directors of the United East India Company shall be deemed Patrons of the College of Fort William, the Governor-General is to be the visitor, and the members of the Supreme Council the Governors of the College. The Offices of Provost and Vice-Provost are abolished and the immediate superintendence of the College is vested in a President and Council to consist of three or more members and to be appointed by the Governor-General in Council. A Secretary and Assistant Secretary are to be appointed to act under the Council of the College, these officers were also to be appointed by the Governor-General in Council.

THE DUTIES OF THE SECRETARY ARE DEFINED.—He was not in those days a Professor in any subject. Provision is made for the appointment of Professors, Assistant Professors in Arabic, Persian, Hindustani, Sanskrit and Bengalee but it is not considered necessary to establish any Professorship in Law or Regulations. An establishment of native teachers is provided for the instruction of the students in languages. These teachers are to be examined by the Professors before receiving an appointment.

Although the College was still primarily intended for civil servants, provision was made by general orders of the 7th February 1814 for the admission of a limited number of Military students for one year commencing from either January or July. In certain cases a longer period was granted to military students who had shewn special proficiency and who wished to continue their studies in any particular language. The terms were reduced from four to two, the first commencing on the 1st January and ending on the 31st May. The second term commenced on the 1st July and ended on the 30th November. The nature of the prizes to be awarded was definitely decided, the Degree of Honour carrying with it a prize of 1,000 Sicca Rupees and a Medal (of what metal is not stated but the writer is able to say that these medals were of gold). For excellence of handwriting in any of the languages a medal might be awarded but no student could receive more than one medal for the same character. Medals were also given for diligent application or for other meritorious conduct which may appear to deserve them. So that in those days medals were rather liberally bestowed and must have been a source of some anxiety to the Financial Department of the period. By Section XXIV. of these Statutes the Secretary and Assistant Secretary to the College Council were declared to be the public Examiners of the College, and were to be assisted at the half-yearly Examinations by the Professors and Assistant Professors of the several languages. It was competent for the Governor-General in Council to remove any student upon the recommendation of the College Council.

Regular attendance on Divine Service was now expected "not as an enforced duty, but as a fit testimony in public of that proper sense of Religion with which the mind of man ought always to be impressed", and it was stated plainly that inattention to this rule would operate materially to a student's disadvantage.

A competent knowledge of two languages usually Persian and Hindustani was demanded of all civil servants as a qualification for the public service until he had passed the Examination at the College of Fort William no civil servant could draw more than 300 rupees a month and any such disqualified servant was to be sent out of Calcutta to some station where he was to remain under the Judge or Collector till such time as he could apply for and pass the requisite examination. The names of these disqualified servants were entered on a Public Register in the Office of the Chief Secretary to Government.

The orders of the 7th February 1814 above alluded to are the earliest under the provisions of which Military Officers were declared to be entitled to compete for Degrees of Honour in languages. The Degree of Honour in those days was granted for "high proficiency," and there does not appear to

have been any examination such as has existed for many years past bearing this latter title and inferior in its strictness to the Degree of Honour examination. All we know about the examinations in those early days is that they were partly written and partly oral in the absence of any copies of the examination papers it is impossible to gauge the standard of the qualifications demanded for the Degree of Honour but it was undoubtedly far below the present standard of scholarship as indeed it must have been from the then condition of philological studies. Students were allowed under certain restrictions to use the College Library, Class books in the several languages were provided, but students were expected to provide their own grammars and dictionaries. Literary works of merit and utility were to be encouraged by public subscription upon the recommendation of the College Council under instructions from the Court of Directors. Under certain conditions persons other than Civil and Military servants on the Bengal Establishment might attend the Lectures given at the College.

Further changes in the Statutes were made in November 1816. The prize of 1,000 Sicca Rupees attached to the Degree of Honour was withdrawn, and its place was substituted "a Degree of Honour and a Gold Medal with a prize of Oriental Books equal in value to the Medal or Medals adjudged for high proficiency."

These Statutes also refer to the discontinuance by the Court of Directors of the "reward of Rs. 5,000 which was formerly granted to the Civil Servants of this Establishment who might attain a certain proficiency in the Arabic and Sanskrit Languages, such as should enable them to read and explain books of Mahummudan and Hindu law." The Governor-General now grants for these same qualifications a Degree of Honour and a Gold Medal to any civil servant who has not already attained the prescribed reward for the high proficiency in the Arabic or Sanskrit Language in the College of Fort William.

These Statutes also repeal that part of the former Statutes which directed that the Secretary and Assistant Secretary should be Public Examiners and which required that the Public Examinations should be partly oral, and partly by written exercises. In place of the former the following Statute was enacted :—

"The Governor-General in Council will appoint such persons as he may judge proper to be the Public Examiners of the College, and the Examination of all students attached to the College shall be conducted by them, with the aid of the Professors and Assistant Professors of the several languages taught in the College, in such manner as may be prescribed by the College Council. But no person shall be permanently appointed to the office of Public Examiner in the College, without satisfactory proof of his eminent proficiency

in two, at least, of the languages taught in the College by having obtained Degrees of Honour in such languages. Nor shall any person be appointed Professor or Assistant Professor in the College without a similar demonstration of his high proficiency in the particular language to be taught by him."

This Statute is of interest as indicating the first signs of a distinction between the qualifications necessary for a Degree of Honour and those of an inferior order. The words "Eminent Proficiency" now appearing for the first time are the words used in the Diplomas granted in later times for the Degree of Honour, while the words "High Proficiency" are those appropriated to entitle the qualification inferior to the Degree of Honour.

It is further of interest as foreshadowing the minimum qualification now demanded of the Secretary to the Board of Examiners who occupies the position of the "permanent Public Examiner" in the College of Fort William which as will be seen was eventually merged in the Board of Examiners. Under the regime of the Marquess of Hastings the Statutes again underwent alteration in 1822, towards the close of his administration. In these Statutes we find the institution of the Diploma to be denominated a Degree of Honour under the signature of the Visitor as a reward for extraordinary proficiency, and a reward of Rs. 1,600 is attached to the Diploma. The standard of knowledge required in granting these Diplomas is to be adjusted by the College Council in communication with the Examiners. A reward of Rs. 3,000 a Medal and a prize of Oriental Books is also granted to every civil servant below the rank of Senior Merchant who at an examination evinces such proficiency in Sanskrit or Arabic languages as may enable him to read and explain Books of Hindoo or Mahomedan Law.

In 1824 (23rd November) the Seventh Chapter of Statutes was promulgated in compliance with directions from the Right Honorable William Pitt, Lord Amherst. The only change made was the introduction of intermediate examinations in addition to the half-yearly examination in case of necessity.

A further change was made on the 18th August 1825 under the same Governor-General, who enacted an Eighth Chapter of Statutes repealing the whole of the foregoing. One important alteration was the provision that in the event of any person not qualified by the possession of the Degree of Honour in two languages to be permanently appointed to the Office of Public Examiner in the College, being nominated to officiate such person would be required to obtain the requisite diploma within six months during which period he should not be entitled to draw more than half the allowances of the office. For the first time "High Proficiency" is separated as a distinct standard, and a reward of eight hundred rupees with a certificate signed by the College Council, is attached to it.

The remainder of the Statutes is merely an imbodiment of various constituents portions of preceding Statutes with verbal alterations and renumbering of paragraphs.

In 1841, the College of Fort William was placed under the control of the Governor of Bengal and fresh Rules and Regulations were enacted, and promulgated on the 28th July of that year by Colonel G. T. Marshall, Secretary of the College "in compliance with directions from the Right Honourable George, Earl Auckland, G. C. B., Visitor of the College."

The Governor of Bengal was to be the Visitor of the College and exercise a general superintending over its affairs assisted by the Secretary of the Institution. The Council henceforth sinks into oblivion and is never once mentioned in the Statutes.

For the rest the provisions of the preceding Statutes are retained with such slight modifications as circumstances have rendered necessary.

For the first time we find specified text books and a synopsis of the examination so that we are enabled to form some idea as to the standard of proficiency demanded.

For the qualifying examination, there was an Oral Examination in certain text books, namely

In Persian	...	...	...	Anwari Soheilee, Goolistan.
Hindee	...	...	...	Prem Sagur.
Bengalee	...	...	...	Hitopadesh.

In addition to this oral test written exercises were required to be "performed with a tolerable degree of correctness." These exercises were prepared by the Secretary, under the direction of the Visitor, and were as follows:—

No. 1. A paper in the language in which the examination is held, to be translated into English. In the Persian examination, the paper is to be taken from either the Goolistan or Anwari Soheilee.

No. 2. An English paper of an easy narrative style to be translated into the language in which the examination is held.

No. 3. English sentences to be translated into the same language.

This is a curious test in as much as there was no provision made for Colloquial Examination, so that a candidate might apparently pass without without being able to converse in the language at all.

It consequently compares very unfavourably with the qualifying examinations (Lower and Higher Standard) of the present day, in which conversation forms an all-important subject.

Twelve months were allowed to pass this test, after which an extension of three months was admissible to unsuccessful candidates. Failing to pass at the expiration of this fifteen months, he was struck off the list of the College and required to leave for England within six weeks.

Para. 15 cites text books for High Proficiency and Degree of Honour.

In the latter examinations there is no mention of any examination in Grammar or Prosody nor is there any conversational test of any kind, so that these examinations cannot be considered as tests of High Proficiency or "Eminent Proficiency" as now understood.

This completes the history of the various Statutes under which the College of Fort William was conducted from its original foundation. We will now return to the consideration of the attitude taken by the Honourable Court of Directors towards Lord Wellesley's original proposal.

IV.—STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE.

On the 27th January 1802, a Public letter was addressed to Bengal by the Honourable Court of Directors, directing the re-establishment of Mr. Gilchrist's Seminary, and the immediate abolition of the Institution founded by the Governor-General, and directing that an enquiry should be made into the utility of the Mahammedan College at Calcutta and the Hindu College at Benares.

I have not access to a copy of this letter, but it may be found in Vol. 488, Home Series, Miscellaneous, in the records of the India Office which also contains a preliminary reply to this letter emanating from the Governor-General in Council, dated 12th July 1802, and stating that the Court will be addressed hereafter on the subject of the abolition of the College.

The promised communication is a very lengthy letter consisting of 141 paragraphs from the Governor-General to the Court, and is dated 5th August 1802. Prior to the despatch of this letter an order had been issued by the Governor-General for the abolition of the College to take effect from 31st December 1803. This order is recorded in Bengal Public Proceedings dated 24th June 1802. To properly understand the sequence of events which finally led to the maintenance of the College of Fort William upon its established footing with certain modification, it will be necessary to refer somewhat at length to this memorable reply by the Governor-General in Council to the objections raised by the Court of Directors. Their letter of the 27th January was received on the 15th June by the Governor-General in Council with the deepest regret and concern. It has evidently been written, His Excellency says, under an apprehension of the existence of a considerable embarrassment in the situation of the Company's financial affairs in India; and the primary grounds of the commands of the Honourable Court are

stated to be the unexampled amount of the debt, the unparalleled scarcity of money in India, the consequent depression of the public credit and the reduction or total suspension of the commercial investments." His Excellency in Council meets these statements with a direct negative and points out that in every respect the financial position of the Company in India is highly satisfactory and will doubtless continue to improve, and "that Public credit will speedily attain the utmost degree of prosperity under circumstances which will ensure its stability."

The Court having objected *in limine* to the institution of the College on the grounds that such a step "must involve the Company in an expense of considerable and unknown amount, and that this expense might be applied to purposes more beneficial for the Company's interests" the Governor-General replies that no just estimate of the expenditure can be framed without instituting an enquiry into the probable advantages "and comparing the pressure of that expense on the finances of the Company in India with the proportionate benefit to be derived from the operation of the institution on the whole frame of the Government of this Empire."

He proceeds, with an undercurrent of sarcasm at the pennywise and pound foolish action of the Honourable Court, to shew how impossible it is to estimate the benefits derivable from the institution, or to fix a price "at which it would be consistent with the Company's interest to purchase such a benefit" and states without reserve that "it is difficult to conceive any purposes to which money could be applied with more benefit to the Company's interests in India. Prudence would forbid the Government in India to incur any considerable and unknown amount in any branch of the Company's affairs: the beneficial application of any sum of money must be estimated by a comparison between the known amount of the sum to be expended, and the certain or probable benefit to be attained by such expenditure. From these premises Lord Wellesley proceeds to shew that he is in possession of all the data requisite, the cost of the institution is known and is inconsiderable with relation to the magnitude and importance of its objects and actual effect.

The total expense incurred on account of the College in the first year of its institution ending on the 31st October 1821 amounted to the sum of about six lakhs and thirty thousand rupees after deducting all disposable articles of stock on hand, the value of which amounted to about two lakhs and seventy thousand rupees. The expense of the institution in its commencement was necessarily more considerable, and the estimate for 1802-3 is four lakhs of rupees. This sum, however, must be diminished by deducting certain expenses which existed previously to the institution of the College, and which must equally have been incurred if the College had not been established.

These deductions represent the former allowance for Moonshis and the rent of the Writers' Buildings aggregating Rs. 70,000 so that the total additional expense to the Company on account of the current charges of the College remained at the sum of three lakhs and thirty thousand rupees. Reference is then made to a letter of the 30th July 1801 in which the Governor-General in Council apprized the Court that he had "actually provided for the current expense of the College by new resources, on which he has expressly charged that expense."

Their resources were town duties and Government customs revived by Regulations 5, 10 and 11 of 1801. These new duties he points out, have been in the year 1801-02 twelve lakhs and seventy thousand rupees and is estimated for the current year at fourteen lakhs.

Consequently, "the current expense of the College now constitutes no additional charge on the Company's revenues in Bengal: since a new resource has already been found which actually produces a sum exceeding the amount of that expense."

But even if it should be deemed expedient hereafter to repeal or modify these duties, the Governor-General has no doubt that there will be ample means found to defray the current expenses of the College without injury to any other branch of the public service. The commercial investment has, he shows, been estimated at the highest standard, and neither the continuance nor the abolition of the College would affect the investment in any degree. The question therefore "is narrowed to the limited consideration, whether it be more beneficial to the Company's affairs to continue the annual application of a sum of three lakhs and thirty thousand rupees (arising from a new fund, specially charged with this sum, and producing a considerable surplus) to the maintenance of the College, or to add that sum to the general surplus in the treasury, or to the sinking fund, even if it should be contended that this sum might be conveniently applied to the increase of the investment, it would remain to be proved that the effect of three lakhs and thirty thousand rupees added to the commercial investment of Bengal (already raised to ninety lakhs) would be more beneficial to the interests of the Company, and of the nation in India, than the operation of the same sum of money applied to defray the current charges of the College of Fort William."

The contest is one between enlightenment and intellectual advancement on the one hand and commercial cupidity on the other, and one cannot help feeling that had any less strong Governor-General than Lord Wellesley, fired as he was with the enthusiasm of his enlightened policy, entered the lists, the commercial champions would have defeated the intellectual to the lasting injury of the British power in India. The seed which he then sowed has never since failed to reproduce year by year its harvest of promise, and to his

efforts a century ago we may justly attribute the influence we have never ceased to wield in India by virtue of a competent knowledge of its vernaculars among our Civil and Military officers. That that knowledge is tending to decay is only too evident and is a fact much to be deplored. It will be an evil day for our rule in India when rulers whether Civil or Military lose sight of the paramount importance of a competent knowledge of the vernaculars. No officer of Government, be he civilian or soldier, can have any real sympathy with or influence over the natives with whom his duties bring him in relation, unless he can understand and speak their languages.

A somewhat sinister note is sounded by Lord Wellesley in Para. 24 of his letter, when he reassures the Court upon the question of the future pension list. This he says, "would have afforded no ground of alarm to the Court, if the Court had considered the age and probable habits and dispositions of these persons from whom the greater proportion of the Professors and Officers of the College must be selected." His Excellency was evidently of opinion that the necessarily studious dispositions and sedentary habits of the Professors would be an excellent safeguard against their undue longevity. The average mortality in those days undoubtedly favoured such a forecast as to the actual results we shall be in a position to speak later on.

It appears from Para. 26 of this letter, that the site before alluded to in Garden Reach had actually been purchased by Government, although no building had yet been commenced. The ground had, however, been cleared and drained and roads made in its vicinity at no great expense, and the charges for its future maintenance in its improved condition would be inconsiderable, while if so desired it could be sold again at any time without loss. While urging the expediency on the ground of efficiency and economy of adhering to his original scheme for building the College at Garden Reach, Lord Wellesley states that many of the most beneficial purposes of the College have been attained and may probably be secured by the temporary continuance of the present system of the establishment in the town of Calcutta and proceeds to hold out as a sop to Cerberus "a sum of three lakhs of rupees soon to be paid into the treasury on account of a legacy from the late General Martine of Lucknow" which he says may be legally applied to the purposes of the College. It appears also that he had some intention of trying to obtain for the College of Fort William certain sum bequeathed by General Martine for the purpose of founding a literary institution at Lucknow—presumably the Martinière College.

Having he hopes convinced the "Honourable Court" that the foundation of the College was reasonable, and that the funds to support are ample—Lord Wellesley goes on to deal with that portion of the Director's letter which directs the restoration of "Mr. Gilchrist's Seminary" on a somewhat

enlarged scale as a substitute for the College of Fort William. It appears from Para. 34 that the Court had directed the revival of the Experimental Establishment at Calcutta originally placed under Mr. Gilchrist's direction and had sanctioned an extension of that Establishment, adding Persian and Bengalee as well as laws and regulations to the Hindustani hitherto forming the exclusion subject of study.

Lord Wellesley points out that this extension will involve the Establishment of Teachers or Professors at a monthly salary of not less than fifteen hundred rupees each. The six thousand rupees thus expended will, he points out, amount to two-thirds of the total amount of the salaries of all the officers, Professors and Teachers of the College of Fort William, while making no provision for the teaching of Arabic. He goes on to point out that it will be necessary to provide similar establishments for St. George and Bombay with additional teachers in the vernaculars of those presidencies, so that the expenditure will be enormously in excess of that required under his scheme for an united institution at Calcutta.

Lord Wellesley proceeds to explain that the proposals made by him in his Minute of 21st December 1798 for the instruction of junior Civil Servants in Hindustani originated with himself, not with Mr. Gilchrist, who offered his services in giving lessons in the Hindustani and in the rudiment of the Persian language under whatever institution the Government might establish. Mr. Gilchrist's zeal, ability and diligence as a teacher of the Hindoostanee language and his eminent merits in forming a most useful Grammar and Dictionary of that colloquial dialect induced Lord Wellesley to consider him to be the most eligible instrument for the purpose of aiding in the experiment of systematic instruction in the study of the Oriental Languages, and he expresses himself as highly satisfied with the results of that experiment as shewn in the examination held in July 1800 to which reference has already been made. Lord Wellesley evidently objects to this experimental course of instruction instituted by himself being attributed to Mr. Gilchrist and the credit being assigned to him of having founded a "Seminary," and says plainly that, had it not been for certain statements made by the Honourable Court in their letter of 27th July 1802 as to the particular branches of knowledge deemed by the Court sufficient to qualify a civil servant for the administration of affairs in Bengal, he would have found considerable difficulty in forming a just conception of the precise intention of the Honourable Court in directing him to supersede the establishment of the College of Fort William by the re-establishment of Mr. Gilchrist's Seminary, and he further states that "no modification or extension of the plan under which Mr. Gilchrist was employed in 1799 and 1800, can embrace the objects proposed to be secured by the Collegiate

Establishment at Fort William." Not only this but he had learned as much from the defects of that plan as he had from its advantages in the absence of any system of control or discipline, so that the attendance of certain of the students was irregular, and they were free to form habits of negligence, extravagance and dissipation. For these reasons he felt impelled to from his "general plan for the better instruction of the civil services on the basis of a Collegiate institution in which study should be enforced by discipline and education regulated by efficient restraint."

After reciting the general tenour of the Statutes by which his College was governed, His Excellency directs the attention of the Honourable Court to the benefits already derived from its operation. The station of a public officer in the College has, he says, been sought as an object of high honour and distinction, so much so that during the two years of its existence "only two Professors and two Teachers in the Oriental languages have received salaries" and gentlemen such as Mr. Barlow, Mr. Harington, Mr. Edmonstone, Lieutenant-Colonel Kirkpatrick and Mr. Colebrooke have held professorships without salary, to say nothing of gentlemen who have voluntarily assisted without reward in conducting the public examination. He earnestly deprecates any lowering of the scale of the institution, any degradation of its authority or diminution of the lustre and magnitude of its character and objects resulting as these measures infallibly must in loss of utility to the public service, and he pleads in most eloquent and forcible language for the continuance of the College in its existing foundation. The students at Fort William have, he asserts, acquired habits of economy and regularity and "afford the most auspicious hopes that the local administration of India for several years to come will be amply provided with instruments properly qualified to accomplish all the purposes of a wise just and benevolent government."

He next deprecates the establishment of these separate seminaries in Bengal, Fort St. George and Bombay, both in the ground of the inferiority of the means of instruction in the two latter presidencies and on that of the abatement of the spirit of emulation which has been so beneficial to the progress of the students. The most important benefits however, which will be forfeited by the separation of the establishments will be, he says, those arising from the uniform education and instruction of the whole body of the Civil Service in India in one system of political, moral and religious principles. He is convinced that a more intimate union of the three establishments is an object not only of good policy and of just economy, but of indispensable necessity to the stability of the Empire.

Having by this special pleading disposed of all the objections urged by the Court of Directors, Lord Wellesley, in Para. 109, states that he might

have deemed it to be his duty "to suspend the execution of the commands of the Court for the abolition of the College, to refer the question to the further pleasure of the Court, and to request that the Court would be pleased to renew the consideration of orders, the declared foundation of which has been entirely removed by the happy change effected in the financial situation of the Company in India," were it not that he feels compelled having regard to the nature of the institution (intimately blended with the general subordination of the service) to proceed immediately to the public abolition of the institution. He accordingly passed an order in Council (on 24th of June) directing that all expenses incurred on account of the College of Fort William should cease, and that the institution should be abolished "at the same time I repealed the regulations enacted for the foundation and management of the College, together with all Statutes and orders enacted or passed by the Governor-General in Council, or by the Visitor, for its discipline and government but a most serious question arose with regard to the time when the abolition of the College and the repeal of the regulations should take effect, and also when all the expences of the College should cease and when the students collected at Calcutta from the subordinate Presidencies should be returned to their respective settlements." He further points out the practical impossibility of immediately breaking up the College and the hardships such a course would of necessity entail upon the students who had studied in the College and were within a few months of their reward. Upon their awarded rank at the next examination rested their hopes of promotion. It is, therefore, unwise and impolitic to discourage their industry and frustrate their honourable ambition, as well as unjust and inhumane to abruptly interpose a sudden act of authority between the termination of their studies and the season of their reward.

The great body of students will not have completed their course of study until December 1803. The Governor-General has, therefore, resolved that the order for abolition of the College of Fort William shall not take full effect until the 31st December 1803 and anticipates that this delay will afford to the Honourable Court an opportunity of reviewing the considerations which dictated their orders of the 27th January 1802.

Should the Court adhere to their intention and command the abolition of the College, His Lordship would certainly discharge his duty with promptitude and despatch but not without suffering the most severe pain and regret in reflecting on the public benefits which must flow from the establishment of this institution, and on the public calamities which must attend its abolition. He ends this appeal by saying "I therefore close this letter with a perfect confidence that the Honourable Court will issue without delay a positive command for the continuance of the College of Fort William until

further orders, and although my resignation of the office of Governor-General precludes the hope of my being employed as the instrument for restoring this important benefit to these valuable dominions, I shall embark from India with a firm reliance, that my successor will execute the salutary orders of the Honourable Court for the *Restoration* of the College of Fort William with the same sentiments of zeal for the public service, and of attachment to the public interests and honour which induced me to found that institution."

Such an overwhelming argument supported by so eloquent an appeal could not fail to weigh with the Court of Directors, so that it is not surprising to find that on the 2nd September 1803 a letter was despatched to Bengal directing the continuance of the College until further orders the writers from Fort St. George and Bombay being excluded. (India Office Records, Vol. 488, 489, H. S. Misc.). This decision, however, appears not to have been arrived at without difference of opinion, as we find that Counsel's opinion was taken on five occasions between the 10th August 1803 and the 22nd February 1804 "regarding the power of the Board of Control to compel the Court of Directors to send out a despatch countermanding the abolition of the College, and on the question whether the King in Council has authority to compel the Court to send out such despatch." The Court appears to have acted under the compulsion of the Board of Control. The result of the frequent reference to Counsel was that a Bill was drafted declaring the powers of the Board of Control with reference to the East India Company (India Office Records, Vol. 488, H.S. Misc.).

Having now followed the fortunes of the College in its struggle for existence, and having seen its narrow escape from being strangled in its birth, it will be interesting to glance at its original constitution.

(To be continued).

G. S. A. RANKING, M. A., M. D.,

(Lt.-Col., I. M. S., Retired).



Bengal Mofussil Records.

NO 1. MIDNAPORE (MILITARY). PART IV. (CONCLUSION)

94.

TO GEO. VANSITTART, ESQ.

BAMIN BOON,
Nov. 25th, 1767.
(Recd. 29th do.)

SIR,

Having information of Ozuderam and several of his Aherents being seen a very few Days ago at Singpore in the Zemindary of Ranny Serimunny, Do request your assistance that in Case they be found there or in your District they may be seiz'd and delivered to me

I remain, etc.,

C. COLLINS,
Lt., and Battn. of Sepoys,
Commanding at Bamin Boon

95.

WONGALPOORA,
Dec. 2nd, 1767.

SIR,

I am favor'd with yours of the 2nd inst also Bengal chalaun inclosed. The Shikidar of Bamin Boon has sent one a chalaun of things recd. from your people, which differs from yours: however all the effects are of so small consequence that I don't think it worth enquiry. The only hens is that Ladder Sing is run into the words after having abandoned the place to me, and stationed Chokeys all around, from which infer he will turn out an enemy. I have been here then five days. I conclude.

I beg leave, etc.,
C. COLLINS

96.

TO G. VANSITTART, ESQ.

BAMIN BOON,
Dec. 3rd, 1767.

SIR,

A party of mine being (as I had the honor to inform you in my last), in the jungles in pursuit of Ozuderam, have taken some of his adherents, but, as they write me, himself escaped by bribing the Deigwar of Anundpore. I think it necessary to acquaint you of this, Sir, that, if that be true, you may inflict what punishment on him he may appear to you to deserve. However, inclose the Bengal Chit sent by the jimaundar that you may be better able to judge.

I find my people have in the Pursuit been necessarily led into your districts, which I have strictly charged them to avoid entering if it could possibly be avoided. However, my Orders to the Jemaundar for the good behavior of his people are so strict that I flatter



Samuel Feake, Esq. [?]



Thomas Feake, Esq. [7]

myself none of your ryots will suffer any damage. Should they, on the man who does it being pointed out, you may depend, Sir, he shall meet with due Correction. I am now to request, Sir, that you will please to order your people to destroy the houses, etc., of the banditti that may be within your limits, I having forbid my men from doing it that there might be no Cause of Complaint.

I remain, etc.,
C. COLLINS.

97

Please, Sir, to return the Bengal chit.

BAMIN BOON,
Dec. 4th, 1767.
(Recd. 5th do.)

SIR,

Having fresh Proofs of Rainny Scrimunny's harbouring Oraderam and Takeram, and having certain accts. of their being now at Singapore, have in Obedience to Orders from Burdwan directed my Party to endeavour to seize them there. Am now to request You will please, Sir, to Order your People to Co-operate with mine in Order to prevent their Escaping, and to facilitate their being seized should they have fled further into your District.

As the Rainny is one of your Dependents, Sir, I leave her to you, but beg leave to observe that, if she continues to harbour these Vermin, One of the main Objects of my Detachment must fail. If you require living Witnesses of the People in Question being protected by her, can send them you.

I beg leave, etc.,
C. COLLINS.

98

TO GEORGE VANSITTART, ESQ

BAMIN BOON,
Dec. 5th, 1767.

SIR,

I was this morning favor'd with Your's per Peon. The man is one of our Matchlocks and says he has a house there, and went to get some Victuals. As to Arouderam, intend sending you a man who can perhaps inform you more of the Rainny's Sheltering him than you yet know, and says he can even point out the Places they hide in. I should have received your favor sooner, but having been absent a Day or two did not return till late this Morning.

I beg leave, etc.,
C. COLLINS.*

99

TO GEO. VANSITTART, ESQ.

BAMIN BOON.
Dec. 6th, 1767.

SIR,

Two of the Prisoners taken in the last Excursion are on their way to you for what Examination You may think necessary; to prove the Defection of Rainny Scrimunny, and

* One characteristic of Collins' letters is the economy in personal pronouns.

that the Chuars have taken refuge in your Province (I mean several Principals). I have questioned them strictly, and this is the Amount of their Depositions. Lucknow Contal says that Ounderam is now in the Zemry. of the Rainny; That She furnishes him with Oil, Tobacco, Money, etc., etc.; that She has three Houses of Ounderam's at her House; that she ordered her Boutique Men to furnish them with what they might want; that Ounderam's and Tukeram's Wives and families are at Gubrow in her Territories; that when he was in her Country they resided at Goverda.

Bum Doly, who says that he belongs to the Rainny, deposes that Ounderam is now at Goverda; that Tukeram's and Ounderam's Families are at Gubrow, where they are supplied by the Rainny; that Ounderam used to send him Money and he provided necessaries for him and his party; that he has relations among them.

Gopal Sinney, a Sardar of our Matchlocks, accompanies them by my order (he will give you a letter from me). He is very capable of informing you, Sir, of many material circumstances, having led our Party on the last Excursion.

I am now, therefore, to request, Sir, you will be pleased to send proper force to seize these people, and am more earnest in this Remonstrance as I find myself obliged to collect all I can spare of my Detachment to pay a Visit to a Neighboring Raja, who, I find, also protects the Chuars, and only sends me an unmeaning answer to my Representations on that head. So must endeavour to seize all I can find in his Country. I reckon I shall be gone about Ten Days.

May I beg, Sir, to be favor'd with an Answer to this by return of Cossed.

I remain, with great Respect,

Sir,

Your obedt. H^{ble} Servant,

C. COLLINS.

P.S.—I find Setteram is the active man for the Chuars in the Rainny's Country. Should your people, Sir, be so fortunate as to seize any of the Chuars, please to keep them till my return of which I will give you notice. Any letter directed to me here will reach me.

Since writing the foregoing am favor'd with Your's, Sir, of the 5th. As to Man Sing leave him to You to do as may seem to you equitable. You inform me of having sent a Party to act with me which being returned in my Absence have sent another with my Sergeant, in Order, if possible, to do the Business effectually. I have ordered him to return as soon as possible, as I want to march, for reasons herein to you, Sir, assigned, and do request in my Absence the Assistance of Your People to catch any of the Principals nam'd in my Instructions; viz., Ounderam and Tukeram or their Adherents found in your Limits.

I once more remain, Sir, etc.,

C. C.

I shall do myself the Honor to write you the Day's march.

100.

BAMIN BOON,
December 8th 1767.

SIR,

I am just now favoured with yours: am sorry to hear what the Jinnautdar relates, and more sorry to find a great deal of it is true. I never meant, Sir, that my parties should traverse your Limits without a cause, and tho' my fear of any disorder happening between the

two Jemautdars, should they be together, ordered a Sergeant, thinking that he might have weight enough among them to prevent any disorders. As to his going to Anundipore, I told him he might, as I thought your Jemautdar and he could by that means concert their schemes better, but never meant him to remain in your limits any longer than there was certain intelligence where the chuars were. As your people have been injured, Sir, I am ready to give them satisfaction, if you desire it by bringing the Sergeant to a Court Martial, but I own it would at present distress me to part with him. However, it shall be as you please. You may depend, Sir, nothing of this kind shall happen again, nor shall my people enter your bounds improperly. I shall march to-night to Chanderconna.

I am, Sir, etc.,
C. COLLINS.

101.

GEO. VANSITTART, ESQ.

MOGALPOOTA.
Dec. 20th, 1767.
(Recd. 29th do.)

SIR,

Being informed by a chit from the Cheikdar of Bamin Boon that Tukeram and three Sardars belonging to Oruderam's Gang are at Korungur : have sent orders to Gopal Sarney to endeavour to find them out and acquaint you where they are : when I am to request the continuance of your assistance for that they may be seized.

I remain, etc.,
C. COLLINS.

102.

TO G. VANSITTART.

December 20, 1767.
NUJAIPORE (?)

SIR,

I have information by a chit from the Shiahadar of Baman Boom that Tuckram and three Sardars belonging to Oruderam's gang are at Doorangurihar : sent orders to Gopal Sarney to endeavour to find them out and acquaint you where they are, when I am to request the continuance of your assistance, Sir, that they may be seized.

I remain, etc.,
C. COLLINS.

103.

MOGALPOOTA,
December 21th, 1767.

SIR,

I am favoured with yours of the 22nd instant, also Bengal Chalacon inclosed. The Shiekdar of Bamin Boom sent me a Chelaun of things received from your people which differs from yours. However, all the efforts are of so small consequence that I don't think it worth inquiry. The only news here is that Jaddu Sing is run into the woods after having abandoned this place to me, and stationed chokeys around, from which infer he will turn out an enemy. I conclude, etc.,

C. COLLINS.

104.

TO GEO. VANSITTART, ESQ.

BULRAMPORE,
April 23d, 1768.

Sir,—As soon as I arrived here I proceeded immediately to dispose of Jeyramsing's company of seapoys, according to your orders of the 17th current, recommending especially to them in every respect to obey the orders of the Fannadars and Tahsildars of their respective stations.

Numbers of complaints and applications to me for redress will be the consequence of marching in the companies to Midnapore at the end of the month without their pay, should the several bodies be arrived. This the Circars of the companies having represented to me here, as seapoys have contracted various petty debts with the country people which they will not be able to discharge without their pay, I would esteem it a particular favour if you would please to permit me to draw their pay this month here, by which means I shall be able to adjust matters to the mutual satisfaction of the parties, after which the seapoys may be marched in immediately. As to myself, I must beg leave to represent that 14 or 15 days will be necessary in order to enable me tolerably to settle my private affairs and to put the Companies on the footing on which I should wish to leave them. Your pleasure and direction, after consideration, will oblige one, who is with real regard and esteem.

Sir, etc.

J. FAROUSSON.

I have received your letter of the 21st.

Jam Ram Chuckerjuty being a servant of mine I have wrote him in the severest terms on account of so iniquitous practice, but I am certain that it is not on my account, as I absolutely forbid him to lend money on any conditions.—J.F.

105.

TO GEO. VANSITTART, ESQ.

MONDYPORE,
June 11, 1768.

Sir,—I arrived here this morning between the hours of nine and ten, was a good deal perplexed how to furnish the sepoys with provisions and other necessities, the Burmah not making their appearance till three o'clock in the afternoon, and even in such a state as obliged me to make use of the stock you sent me for a rainy day. The inclosed is a list of things which is wanting, delivered me by Herrychurn Doss, and which things he informs me you gave orders should be brought by the bullock people.

Another circumstance I should be glad you would set me right in: What is to be the standard price of rice? The sepoys having been complaining that the Burmah men will not give them the same quantity of rice for a rupee as is the market price at Midnapore. Whether they are to have it at the same rate as at Midnapore is a point I am not able to adjust till such time as I hear from you.

To-morrow we march for Collanpore five coss distant from this.

I am, etc.

G. ROOKE.

Compliments, if you please, to Mrs. Vansittart and the Gentlemen.

No. 106.

TO GEO. VANSITTART, ESQ.

CHUCKCOLEA, 4th June 1768.

(Recd. 6th do.)

SIR,—Yesterday morning I halted at Jambunee, about two coas distant from Bultam-pore, from which place I was join'd by twenty-one Pikemen, who did me eminent service, conducted me out of my Road, and then four excepted (which I link hand to hand) walk off into the jungales, since which time I have seen no more of them. This *Village* before my arrival this morning was totally deserted by its inhabitants: as nothing is to be procured for the Sepoys, nor is this the first place that I have met with in the like Condition. This Day I received information that there is a man now residing at Midnapore who has sent people to the different Zemindars and others informing them of a Detachment of Sepoys advancing towards them, and at the same time advising them to leave their habitation. I will not pretend to assert this as a matter of Fact, as I am not acquainted with the Country language, and therefore necessitated to rely on the interpretations of others. The man I have been speaking of, sending people on before, is our Churnaragout (Naib to the Mossindar), who, they tell me, receives money at stated times from the Zemindars of the Places hereabout. The men that agree in this account are the Vackeel [you] sent with me and one Gorinderam Doll, Dewan to the Gatsela Raja. He came from Bultam-pore, met me yesterday at Anlunpore.

Just now one of my Harcaras came to me, informing me that some of the Gatsela Raja's people with Bows and Arrows were lurking about this place. I have no other circumstance to relate at present. I expect to be at Gatsela the day after to-morrow early in the morning.

I am, etc.

G. ROOKE.

107.

TO GEO. VANSITTART, ESQ.

TILLIABAND, June 8th 1768.

SIR,

Yesterday night, by moonlight, we left the Fort of Gatsela, in hopes of coming on the Raja unawares: for I found by the Inhabitants of the Country that he never would come near me, whilst those People (you gave me orders to take hold of) were about his Person. We arrived here by break of day, just time enough to see some of the Villagers run off into the Jungales. The Raja slept there all night and walks away on our approach. The Sepoys, I must confess, behaved very ill; they fired almost twenty shots at some poor wretches as they were running away. With difficulty I put a stop to it: by good luck no one was hit. The Village they have plundered of some trifling things, some little Rice and Paddy, Brass Pots and food. Some maunds of Rice and Paddy I have saved. A Number of small baskets was found in the jungales, them that I've open'd contain small cover cloaths, the rest I am not as yet acquainted with. They were brought in this night. Some of the Rions are returned. I have given them their necessary utensils which the Sepoys had pockeroed. They are contented to remain. I have given them my word should any Sepoy or followers of the Camp molest them, on their making complaint to me, I shall punish the Sepoys or others severely. A quantity of Powder, Lead and six or seven swords were found in the Jungales with ingredients for making powder.

One Nemi Doll, Uncle to Juggnaut Doll, with four others (but none of them you wanted) has fell into our hands. The Uncle gives me hope that we shall be able to lay hold of the Rajah, but for my part I see little prospects of it.

A Jeminder and 20 Sepoys I found in the Fort of Gatsela detach'd from the Compy at Bulrampore. The Jeminder a few days before my arrival had laid hold of the Rajah, but being obliged to obey the orders of the Tassildar there, was necessitated to release him. I am informed that the Tassildar got some rupees for the service done the Raja.

I wrote to the Raja while I was at Gatsela, and sent it by an Harcara, who returned in about six hours, brought me word that he [was] not admitted to cross the River (which is about three coss from this), but that the [Raja's] Diwan swam from the opposite side. . . . received my letter and told the Harcara that the Raja would not come to me on any account, said he would give the letter, and, if the Raja would give his consent for him to come to me, he would be with me on the Day following. I could not confide in the Harcara's Report for being question'd about the Road, his account was so widely different to that which I had been told by the—you sent with me (and he is the man I most rely on), that I've left him [Harcara] in charge of the zemindar at Gatsela.

I wrote you some days ago an acct of the information I had received about Churnanngost . . . still agree in the same story.

I am etc,
G. ROOKE.*

I have not as yet seen Kerpasindoo.

No. 108.

TO GEO. VANSITTART, ESQ.

MIDNAPORE,
9th June [1768]

SIR,

I have just received your letter with this Day's orders, both which equally affords me surprise. I have seen Mr. Graham's order on the subject, which I believe was given out when the commanding officer of the 14th Battalion was not in the garrison, or I believe Mr. Graham would hardly have thought of diminishing the authority of the commanding officer as his behaviour to me during his stay evidently evinces; but whatever Mr. Graham meant by his behaviour to me, such was my position in this Garrison that whatever the orders the Chief is pleased to give out, be it ever so contrary to the principles . . . of Military discipline, I am obliged to comply with them, because I can't expect redress, knowing how necessary it is to keep the superiority in the Civil Power; how generous it is in you to take advantage of it, or how much my experience in military affairs and the order my Battalion have always been in is deserving of it I leave you to determine.

Your politeness to me merited my attention towards you, and I am pretty sure that no Subadar was ever absent from Muster without my acquainting you of it before he [left] the Garrison, and I was even coming to acquaint you of Gopey Sing's intended departure, when you acquainted me with your orders for his marching with you. How irregular and detrimental to military order your commanding detachment my battalion without my knowing anything of it, that you ought to be the best judge.

*This letter is a good deal defaced and torn.

I am very glad it has happened because it has already given me so much uneasiness that any order you can give out will be indifferent to me.

Your orders are already given out and shall be obeyed.

I am, etc.,
C. MORGAN.

No. 109.

TO G. VANSITTART.

NARSINGOUR,
July the 8th, 1768.
(Recd 11th do.)

SIR,

I arrived here the 7th instant in the morning, where I found Mr. Rooke recovered, of his fever but is still very weak. I overtook the Commandant at Hind and brought him all his detachment with me to this Fort.

Jugganant Doll is about twenty long coast from this place, and has got all the principal Zimindars along with him so that I have deferred putting your orders in execution. I have wrote Purwannahs to the Rajah and Zimindars with him to endeavour to bring them in as it is absolutely impossible to catch these fellows while they have so few attendance. At present the Subunrecah has too much water in it to pass it without Boats. I shall endeavour to procure a few by the time I have an answer from the Rajah, as I intend following him, if he does not come in immediately.

As the distance Jugganant Doll in..... is so great, and the Pike fellows of this Country still in arms, it will be necessary to leave a strong Detachment in this Fort whenever I move, as it is practicable to storm it in every place. Tomorrow morning I intend sending Nunderam's Company to Midnapore, but shall detain the twenty sepoys that escorted my Baggage here for, I believe I shall have employment enough for them.

The Dumparah Fellow has been very troublesome, and prevents the People of this country from coming in. I shall endeavour to lay hold of him, and will give him no quarter as I intend his Head shall grace the entrance of this Fort, for everybody gives him a very bad Character.

The late Zimindar of Chuccolea was very troublesome. Attacked Sergeant Bascomb on his march several times, and cut down trees in the Road to prevent his march. The Sergeant expended half the Ammunition I gave him before he could drive the fellows off. Since the Sergeant's arrival here, the Country people who were very averse to his measures have cut off his Head. The man who did it acts as Zimindar until your pleasure is known. Five of the Sirdars who were under Kisanagar have been with me. I have given them beattle, and sent them back to their Villages. The Detachment your ordered from this place to Chuccolea and Coakparah will march to-morrow morning. I shall send twenty days provision with them, as they can get nothing at the places they are going to. Urgen Sing, whom you ordered to Coakparah, is a very fine little fellow, and I shall want him here to command some of my light Infantry, so I have sent Jimmedar Sadey Beg in his room: he is a very good man, one of the best in the Battalion.

Soon after Mr. Rooke's arrival here he took a great many of the Country people's cattle; but, upon their promising to come in to him, they were all returned to their owners. This did not produce the desired effect; on the contrary, the very people who had their Cattle restored to them opposed Mr. Rooke's return over the river, which he had crossed in pursuit of the Rajah, and have since had the impudence to attack the Fort several times. This obliged Mr. Rooke to send a Detachment to drive them off who pursued them a great way,

and brought in with them above a hundred and fifty head of Cattle, which, I think, Mr. Rooke had a right to look upon as lawful prize. He thought so at the time I ordered them to be sold. As you are now acquainted with the real circumstances of the affair, you will let me know your further pleasure on the subject, and your orders shall be obeyed. It is the only thing Rooke has made by his expedition, and certainly the Country fellows deserve a punishment of this sort to prevent their rebellion for the future.

Kirposindoo's pike fellows as well as the other pikers who are here having nothing to eat, and Kirposindoo tells me has no money to give them, I have ordered the Choudhry of the Iluzar to give them meat every day and to bring it into the Company's accounts. I am obliged to do this or they will all leave me, which would distress me very much in case I march from here, as these pike fellows are more useful than sepoy's in the Jungles, as flanking Parties and advance Guards.

It is all a joke to talk of licking these Jungle Fellows: they have not the least idea of fighting, they are like a parcel of wasps: they endeavour to sting you with their arrows, and then fly off. It is impossible almost to kill any of them, as they always keep at a great distance and fling their arrows at you which you may suppose seldom or ever do any execution. As the thing is to frighten these fellows as much as possible, I wish you would send me of the One Pounders with a pair of the new wheels as soon as possible. It will be necessary always to keep that gun in this Fort which I believe will be of more service than an extraordinary company of Sepoys. You need not order the Tamail, as a few ballocks loaded with ammunition will do. The Surraug or Serjeant can make up cartridges for a hundred Ball and about fifty round of Grape, with two barrels of Country Powder to fire the morning and evening gun.

Gan Sam the Tussildar, is, I believe, much to blame. Rooke was very right in confining him as he sent a great quantity of rice and things out of the Fort without Mr. Rooke's approbation. I have ordered him to give me a account of the things he sold and shall make him refund the Money.

Nemoo Doll, who you order to be declared Rajah, was taken prisoner at Tillabmny by Mr. Rooke the night he went after the Rajah. He seems to be a good sort of man; his appearance is very much in his favour. I have not put your order into execution regarding him, as I fear it will be the means of preventing the Zimindars who are with the old Rajah, from coming in. Should they pay no attention to my Purwannah, I will appoint the Rajah agreeable to your order immediately. As he is very poor, not having even Clothes to cover him, I have ordered the Chowdry to supply him with everything he wants. I hope it will meet with your approbation, which I flatter myself with obtaining for everything I do here.

I am (etc)

CHAS. MORGAN.

You must excuse the blunders I have made in this letter, for it is so long that I have not patience to examine it. Rooke's and my Camps, wait on you and the Gentlemen of your factory.

CHAS. MORGAN.

(110)

NARSINGUR,

The 9th July 1768.

(Recd. 13th do.)

Sir,

Tomorrow morning I shall order Nunderam's Company all the Bullocks there is here to Midnapore. The old Tussildar will leave this tomorrow evening. Upon enquiring

into his conduct here, I find he is a very great Rascal, and deserves a very good flogging. The particulars of his behaviour I will let you know when I come to Midnapore.

You must not fail to send constant supply of Provisions. I have not at present in the Fort more than will last me for ten days, and there is not the least prospect of being supplied by the Country People.

I wait with impatience to hear from the old Rajah and the Zemindars with him: for by their answers I must form my future conduct; if they are silent, I know what I have to do.

I hope you will not fail to send the Gun desired immediately, as I am sure it will be of the greatest service imaginable. You need not fear the expence that will attend it, for I will answer for it that it shall not cost (after its arrival in the Fort) five rupees a month, twenty sepoy's will be sufficient guard for it from Midnapore here.

What Paddy Mr. Rooke found in the Fort I have directed Kirpasindoo to buy of him, and the Rajah to pay him another time. Let me know if you approve of it: if you don't, it shall be altered as you may direct.

Nimoo Doll says, if he is chosen Rajah, he desires that Kirpasindoo be his Dewan. He certainly is the properest person, as he knows more of the matter than anybody else, and has more authority in the country.

I am, &c.,

CHAS. MORGAN.

Cockparah the place you ordered the Jimmedar and the sepoy's is not on the road which the Harearraba brought me here, and the Pikes of that country are banish with me, so that I have ordered the zemindar to Burcoolah, which is about the same distance from here as Cockparah and on the road. I have sent to the Tassildar of Hulrampore to supply me with Provisions.

171.

NARISINGUR,

The 13th July 1768.

(Recd. 16th do.)

SIR,

With the Bearer hereof I have ordered to proceed to Midnapore 60 Coolys, 30 Bullock-men, 29 Bazar Followers, and six of the Munchry's Servants, ten is as many as the Company ought to allow such a chap as him and that is the number he has left.

Yesterday I heard from the Zemindars, who are with the old Rajah, they promise to be with me in two days, if they break their word I will appoint the new Rajah, and march after the old one without loss of time, although I believe it will be of little consequence as he is a great way from this place. I understand that he is at Ronvee, which is in the More Bunge Country. I wish you would order the Rajah to lay hold of him, for I fear I shall not be able, as I have a very small force with me when I leave this Fort, for I shall be obliged to leave forty men here besides the sick which amounts at present to two Jimmedars and thirty sepoy's. Brooke is recovering, but slowly.

I have been now here five days, and none of the Zemindars has been with me. I must confess that I am at a loss to know what to do, as they don't assemble in a body, but keep in small parties in the jungles; while they continue to do this, there is nothing can be done with them in the fighting way. I have therefore wrote Letters to them which they don't think proper to Answer.

Jibbonroy, the Zimindar of Cockparah, had the impudence to attack my sepoy's that are stationed at Burcoolah a few nights ago, by way of retaliation, I ordered a serjeant with

a company, to march into his country to endeavour to take him, but he was too quick for them, swam over the river, and left our men in the lurch. He had before drove off all his Cattle to the More Bunge Country, as I am informed by the Serjeant's party.

I wrote to the Dumparrah Ziminindar some days ago, but I have had no answer, and he has detained the person I sent with the letter. By way of teaching him better manners for the future, I last night sent a Serjeant and a company to bring him in, if possible, and if they miss of him, to bring as many Cattle as they can possibly lay hold off, which I suppose will be none at all. However if they do, I will take care that the riots shall have them again, as soon as this mighty business is settled. I have sent out Parties to look for boats, but can find none, so that my passing the Subnureah will be very uncertain, as it will depend on the depth of the water.

If you don't send me a Supply of Provisions very soon I shall be obliged to leave this Fort with the greatest part of my Sepoys, for I have only seven or eight days provision here, although I only allow one seere of rice to each man per day. If I go after the Rajah I must take provisions with me, for I understand there is none to be got on the Road, it being through jungles all the way, so that my distress will not be relieved by that march.

Last night arrived here a man with a letter for Rooke. He has been seven days a coming from Midnapore which he might have done in three. You may with safety settle your regular Dauckes as far as Alampora, from which place the Sepoys will escort them here in two days with great ease. This is the third Letter I have wrote you.

I am, etc,

C. MORGAN.

Rooke joins with me in desiring you will give one our compliments to Mrs. Van, and comps to Mr. Pearce, etc., etc., Pray tell the Doctor we are in want of cooling powders.

No. 112.

NARSINGUR,

July the 14th, 1768.

(Recd. 16th do.)

Sir,

This morning I received two letters from you, one of the 5th, the other of the 11th, together with a list of Officers who I very heartily wish at the Devil.

In your letter of the 5th you acquaint me that there are 160 Coolys and 72 Bullocks which came here with Rooke, besides 140 that you sent with Provisions. The hundred and forty have been sent from here three or four days ago, and yesterday I sent to Midnapore sixty Coolys and all the Bullocks, which Rooke brought here, excepting forty which is absolutely necessary to carry the Ammunition and Tents. I allow none for my Bazar, for whenever I remove from this place, I don't intend to carry any with me. At present I can't stir, nor do I know when I shall be able, as very heavy rains have fallen for these two days past, which must consequently swell the river very much. I can get no Boats, or have I any Carpenters to make any: so that I see little prospect of my being able to follow the Rajah, and as little of making the Ziminindars come in. To-morrow I intend making Nimoo Doll Rajah to see what effect that will have on the Ziminindars of the Country. The Pikes I have with me want very much to leave me, as this is the season for setting their Rice, which they will lose if they remain much longer here. Yesterday returned the Detachment I sent after the Dumparrah Ziminindar. They could [not] lay hold of him, but brought in about eighty heads of Cattle and one prisoner. The prisoner I have sent back with a purwannah to Juggernot Patty to tell him that as soon as he comes in to me, his Cattle shall be restored and not till then.

I wrote you a letter on my first arrival here, to desire you would send me one of the one-pounders, which I think should always remain in this Fort. I told you in a former letter it would be attended with no expense, for the Company have too good a Servant in me to make any unnecessary or false charges. If I am to remain here till the Country is settled, it will be necessary to send me another Company, for the number of sick increases daily. If you send any let it be Gopeysing's, as I have already twenty of his men.

I have already told you that nothing can be done this season of the year, without the Zimmindars think proper to come in, which at present they don't seem at all inclined to do: so that my staying here is an useless expense. It must be a great one, for you must constantly send me supplies of Provision. At present I have very little in the Fort, and if I do not receive some shortly from you, I shall be obliged to leave the Fort, and march to Buirampore or Jounpore, as they are the only places I can expect to find Provisions at.

I am, etc.,

C. MORGAN.

I return you many thanks for the wine, etc. I have only two Hattarrahs left, so send your next letter by one.

No. 113.

NARSINGUR,

The 16th July 1768.

(Recd. 19th do.)

SIR,

Last night I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 12th Instant: I am very happy that you approve of the measures I had then taken, and wish with all my heart they had taken the desired effect, but find there is no such thing as dealing with these People by fair means. There is none of them yet come in, nor have they answered my Purwannahs in writing. The people who I sent with them are returned. The first that came back told me the Zimmindar and Sirdars promised to be at Mahullea the 11th: the next that returned told me they would not come in, and were determined to support Juggonaut Doll against the Company.

Kirpasindoo brought me two men yesterday, and said they were come from his Brother, who, he said, wanted my order to lay hold of Juggonaut Doll, who was collecting a great force, to come and fight me but they could not tell where the force, or the Rajah was: such are the unconnected lies they come and continually tell me. Kirpasindoo is in fear for his Brother's Country and wants me to march that way, which is impossible for me to do as I have very little provisions in the Fort and have no boat to cross the River.

You may imagine I am greatly enraged at being put off with the expectation of the Zimmindar's coming in. I should not have suffered myself to have been taken in, at this rate, but that I knew the consequence of making Nemoo Doll Rajah would be that the Company could not possibly get any money from this country for three or four months. This Kirpasindoo told me on my arrival here, and advised me to endeavour first of all to persuade Juggonaut Doll to come in, as all the principal people would favour his cause.

Finding all I have hitherto done of no effect, I have this day appointed Nemoo Doll Rajah and Kirpasindoo his Dewan. I have again wrote to the head people of the different Purgunnahs to acquaint them with what I have done, and to order them immediately, threatening such as disobey my order. Kirpasindoo shuffled a good deal this morning before he would accept of a turband which is customary to give the Dewan. I was obliged to order him in a severe tone to take it, before he would consent. The reason

of my insisting upon it was that this new Rajah will have no influence without him as he has not so much as a Village of his own. As your servants did not send clothes for the Rajah, I was obliged to buy the best I could for him here. I gave him a Horse because he was very desirous of it and told me Mr. Fergusson had given Juggonaut Doll one. The horse is not of any great value—I believe a hundred rupees or a little more will be the purchase. After I had given your Sunnâud to the Rajah, and dismissed him. He mounted his horse and rode all through the Village with the Tom Toms beating before him in a prodigious grand manner, and now we have got a new Rajah. John Company must supply him with money and victuals, for he has not the least of either. You must not fail to send me constant supplies of Provisions for the Country people don't seem inclined in the least to do any such thing, they are all (of this side the River) kept in awe by Juggonaut Patta and Jibbouroy, who take so much care of themselves that it appears a joke to me to think of catching them, and, to tell you my real sentiments of the affairs of this country, at present, I think it will be a more difficult job to settle it than it was at first to conquer it, for this plain reason—the disaffected have now a young man to head them, who never stays long in any particular place. Consequently it will be more difficult to lay hold of him than it was to catch the old Rajah, who was fool enough to stay in this fort till Fergusson came here.

July the 17th.—I wrote the foregoing pages the 16th in the Morning. In the Evening I received a letter from Juggonaut Doll, who acknowledges the receipt of my Purwannah and tells me all the Sirdars of the Country would have come in to me the 12th instant, but was persuaded to do otherwise by Juggonaut Patta. That Rascal sent me yesterday evening a Varnele to tell me he was very desirous of being friends with me, and would send me his Brother, with as many pikes as I pleased to fight for me, if I would but be his friend and send him some beasts. I wrote him for answer that I was very much his friend and sent him what he wanted with the Letter, but that I did not desire any of his pikes, as I had as many Sepoys as I wanted, but should be very glad to see him, and whenever I had that pleasure I would return him the cattle I had taken from his country. The People who brought me Juggonaut Doll's letter told me that if I gave a favourable answer to that letter that the Sirdars of the country would be in with me in four days. So I wrote the most favourable answer I possible could, but at the same time informing him that I had made Nemoo Doll Rajah, which he could not be surprised at as he left my Purwannah so long unanswered. I advised him by all means to come in to me immediately, and I would endeavour to persuade you to make him Rajah again, as Nemoo Doll would not be able to pay the Company's money. I told him if he intended to come in at all to be very expeditious, as I should be obliged in a few days to send Purwannahs to the Sirdars and People of the country to order them to obey the new Rajah, and in short I used every argument I could to induce him in, because I am sure it will be more for the Company's interest to continue him Rajah. A few villages will I suppose satisfy Nemoo Doll, for he is as poor as a Church Mouse, that is to say if my argument persuades the other man to come in which I much doubt off.

When I wrote my first letter to you, I was not well enough acquainted with this business to know the difference between Sirdars and Zimmedars. When I mentioned the Zimmedars that were with the Rajah I meant the Sirdars—the same of the Chacolea man.

When I gave the Pikes that are with me Victuals, I did not give them money; the reason of my mentioning it to you was that I was obliged to supply them from the Bazar, and should consequently want a supply of Provisions the sooner. At present I have not above four or five days at the most, and it is not possible to get any from the Country People.

Rooke found nothing in the Fort but a Quantity of Paddy and a few Mauns of Rice which shall be sold and brought to the Company's account. I inclose you the old Tassildar's account. The Money I made him refund was Rs 39, which the present Tassildar has in his possession. He received it on the Company's Account. By this time you must be pretty well tired with the length of my letter. I am greatly so, for I have been troubled with a headach this two days, so you must give me leave to subscribe myself your, (etc.)

C. MORGAN.

Rooke joins me in Compliments to you and the Gentlemen at Mithnapore.

For God's sake send me a supply of fowls by the return of the Dawcks for I have nothing to eat, and what Arack Banks sent me let me have for the Sergeants as soon as possible.

114.

NARBINGUR,

July the 22nd, 1768.

(Recd. 24th do.)

SIR,

Yours of the 16th Instant I received in due time, should have replied to it sooner, but was in expectation of giving you a more satisfactory account of Juggernaut Doll than I am at present able to do, as he continues to play me off with letters without speaking a word of coming in himself; however, he says, he will send his Brother immediately.

In a letter I received from the Sirdars which are with Juggernaut Doll they seemed desirous that Incho Chillum and Naderam should go to Mohullea to swear them, and they promised to come in with the Jimmadar and Buxey, and to bring Juggernaut Doll along with them. I immediately complied with their request, but upon the Jemadars arrival at Mohullea there was nobody to be found: after remaining there a Day two Sirdars of Pikes came to them and told them they would go and fetch the Rajah, and bring him or his answer in two days. This account I received from Naderam last night, in answer to which I told Naderam to stay there three days, and to use every means in his power to bring Juggernaut Doll back with them, but if he refused, to give my Purwannah (declaring Nemoo Doll Rajah) to the Sirdars, and to come to me as soon as possible.

The detachment which I sent to the Damparrah fellow's Country has had a very good effect. Three days ago he sent here his Brother with a parcel of Pikes, and begs I will excuse his coming as he is very old and blind. I keep his Brother with me till every thing is settled, till which time I intend to keep his Cattle, which is what makes him so submissive.

Now to answer your letter of the 16th; the reason of your only receiving sixty Bullocks was that some went to Bulrampore, and some to Joanpore to fetch provisions from those places. Serjeant Flint has arrived here these four days. The Provisions sent under his charge are all arrived, excepting one Bullock load of mine which was left at Cuccolea, the Bullocks not being able to bring it. The list of things which was inclosed in your letter has been delivered to Herrychurn. Your orders concerning the Paddy which was found in the Fort shall be complied with. I wonder you should send me a two-Pound, as the only use I had for a gun was to let it remain in this Fort, when I marched from here. I believe I told you in my former letter, or at least intended it, the only difference it will make will be my keeping the Coolies here which you sent with it, as I suppose you will chose the two-pounder should always remain here. I am very glad you think me so careful a servant. You certainly shall never have any reason to think me otherwise, for while I serve old John I shall be with honesty, although I was very angry with the old Gentleman for sending out such a string of Field Officers.

If the Rajah will not come in, Siteram's Cause Horse may be of service in catching him. However, I hope, he will come in by fair means, for as soon as ever I go in pursuit of him, the Country people will be so much frightened, that it will be long time before they will be so quiet as they are at present. There is now not the least disturbance in any part of this Country, and you need no longer send duplicates of your letters, as I receive them quite regularly. Should Juggernaut Doll come in what am I to do with him? I can't keep him prisoner for I have given him the most solemn promises that I would not, in hopes that would persuade him to come to me. The best thing that can be done for the Company will be to make him Rajah again, for as I told you before, not a rupee will you get for many months, if Nimoo Doll is continued. If you don't choss to be concerned, I can easily find an excuse for making Juggernaut Doll again, but you are to do as you think proper, and I have only to obey your orders.

I shall wait here to receive an answer to my letter of the 16th and 17th, and shall form my conduct accordingly. I shall be glad when the boats arrive from Joampore, as I then shall be able to cross the River.

Mr. Short's Chitt of the 19th, together with your little supply, I have just received, and I return you many thanks.

I am, etc.

C. F. MOROAN

I have received the piece of cheese. Rooke still continues to be very poorly: has slight returns of his fever every now and then.

115.

NARSINGH,

July the 25th, 1768.

(Recd. 28th do.)

SIR,

Yesterday Evening, Nederam and my Jimmidas returned from Juggernaut Doll who they saw but could not persuade to come in. He has sent me a Vackele and a young man who he calls his Brother, but says he is absolutely afraid to come in himself, so that I have nothing to do now but confine Nemoo Doll in the Zimindarry, and for that purpose shall this day send off Purwannahs by the two Riots, who are come here from the Huldypoker Sirdar, who is with Juggernaut Doll, as is almost all the Sirdars of the Country.

I am sorry to find by your letter that I can get no Boats from Joampore, as I find it is impossible to procure any here, and the River still continues impassible, so that I can do nothing but write Purwannahs. I shall remain here to see what effect they will have on the Sirdars, and will act accordingly. Should the majority of them favour Juggernaut Doll, it will be the Work of many months to bring them in, as the Country on the other side of the River is very Extensive and Hilly, and it will be impossible to substat men there, when the People of the Country are your Enemy's, without I carry my own bazars; but, as upon these occasions I don't take things for granted, I will march there as soon as I can get across the River, and carry four and five day's Provisions with me. It may turn out better than it appears likely to do.

I have been favored with your letter of the 21st. The former part of the letter is a sufficient answer to it. The Dumparrah fellow is sufficiently inclined to Peace, at least while I detain his Cattle. The Cookpara fellow has taken care of his people and cattle, for he has carried them all over the River.

I have just sent back the Vackele and the old Rajah's Brother to tell him that Nimoo Doll is now publicly declared in Rajah, and if he, Juggernaut Doll, does not pay what money is due to the Company, he will be declared their Enemy, and I shall endeavour to catch him, but that, if he pays what is due, he will be entirely his own master to go where he pleases.

Mr. Rooke joins me in the most sincere congratulations on the Birth of your son as well as Mrs. Van's being out of danger, and we earnestly wish her speedy recovery.

Don't send me any more fowls, as I have lately had a great supply from Bultrapore. A few sheep will be very acceptable as will some sugar candy. I beg your pardon for being so troublesome to you, but you know necessity has no law.

I wish to God this Business was over, for I am really tired of doing nothing, and my poor sepays fall sick continually. I have now above sixty men ill of Fevers. One of my lascars died a day or two ago, and Mr. Flint is very ill. Be so good as to send me a large quantity of Ginger, as I find Tea made of it to be very good for the sick men.

I am, etc.,

C. MORGAN.

Compliments to my old Friend, Peiarey, the Doctor, Short-

116.

NARSINGUR,

The 30th July 1768.

(Recd. 1st Aug.)

SIR,

Accompanying this letter, I transmit you a return of the five Companies on Command in the Western Jungles.

Your favor of the 24th instant I received in due time; in answer to which, I must inform you, every means I could suggest was used to persuade Juggernaut Doll to come in, but it was to no purpose, as I told you in my last letter. I have been waiting these last three days in hopes of having an answer from the Sirdars that are with him: as yet they have been silent.

Had Rooke been well enough to travel, I should have sent him to Midnapore on my first arrival. At present he is pretty well, and intends leaving this in a few days. I am at present repairing an old Canow, which has been laying in a tank near this Fort for God knows how long. I shall be able to cross my people over the river in it in two or three days, when you may be assured I will lose no time in pursuing Juggernaut Doll. The consequence of it will be that all the people of the country will run to the Devil, and the country can't possibly be settled for many months, but what can I do with the Rascalls, when they neither come in nor answer my Purwannahs?

The Dumparrah Sirdar came to me yesterday and remains in the Village. I have returned him all his Cows and Bullocks, and shall take in pay thirty or forty of his Pikes, as all Kirpassindoo's have run away, and so has all the rest excepting Joy Bahader's, who is a very fine old fellow, and I allow him ten rupees per month. This morning I received your Chit of the 26th together with the Biscuit and Arrack, for which I return you many thanks. Don't send me any more Biscuit as I have got a vast deal.

Rooke joins me in compts to you and Mrs. Van and the Gentlemen at Midnapore.

I am, etc.,

CHAS. MORGAN.

The Bullocks that came with Gopey Sing's company were all sent away from here two days ago, and all the Sick that were able to ride the Bullocks went with them.

117.

CAMP AT SUNNEGURRA ON THE WESTERN BANKS OF
THE SUTANRECA

August the 2nd, 1768
(Recd. 5th do.)

SIR,

Yesterday I had the honor of receiving yours, dated the 28th of last month, by which I am glad to find you and I am of the same opinion in regard to my going to the Huldypocker country, which I hope to reach in three or four days. I began to cross the River yesterday morning with one Company and the Baggage. In the evening, I marched from Narsingur with part of three Companies, leaving in the Fort two Zemindars and thirty Sepoys with about forty sick. I have left the Gun there and all my ammunition excepting eight barrels. I had only one Boat to cross the river with and she leaked confoundedly. So you may imagine what a disagreeable piece of business it was. My Cavalry who joined me yesterday, is not yet over: they seem to be a shocking set of Dogs.

I have no certain intelligence where the old Rajah is. As soon as I have, I shall endeavour to surround him, although I think it will be impossible.

Nederam Buxey did not like to accompany me, so I left him at Narsingur to take care of the Dumparrah Sirdar.

I am, Sir, in excellent spirits, and etc.,
CHAS. MORGAN.

Compts to all the Gentlemen.

118.

CAMP AT HULDYPOCKER.

August the 6th, 1768.

SIR,

I have the pleasure to inform you of my arrival here this 4th Instant where I found everything quiet. Most of the People remained in the Villages, but the Sirdars of the Village and Dewly were gone to Cojang that they might come with Kirpasindoo's Brother to see me. Yesterday evening Burrahnalk arrived here with the above-mentioned Sirdars, and a great number of Pike Sirdars, all of whom we gave beetle to, and made them go through the usual forms of swearing to obey the new Rajah.

I find that Juggonant Doll is with the Baman Hatty Zemindar; that District belongs to the More Bunje Rajah, who sent a Vachiel to Burrahnalk two days ago with the enclosed letter desiring him to leave the English and come to him as soon as possible, and threatening him, if he disobeyed.

I have sent to the Baman Hatty Zemindar to inform him I shall very soon march into his Districts, and that, if he does not deliver Juggonant Doll into my hands, I will plunder and destroy his whole Country. I don't know if it will be right in me to do so, as it belongs to the Morattoes, and indeed it appears a joke to me to follow Juggonant Doll, as it will be impossible to catch him, and as he has nobody with him but five Sirdars of Pikes, who are of no kind of consequence, and I shall appoint others in their room immediately. If I should lay hold of any of the old ones, it will be necessary to hang them by way of example to others.

Here is a large extent of country surround on all sides by hills. It is the most beautiful I have seen since my arrival in India, and seems to be very plentiful, altho' I can't say

much for the civility of the People, as I have not been able to get a single thing for my Sepoys since my arrival. All I can say to them will not make them bring things to the Bazar to sell. Fortunately for me Ferguson has got a Sirdar at Dewly to sell a quantity of rice, which he brought up last year. I was obliged this morning to send the few Bullocks I brought with me there to buy rice and other things for my men.

I have desired Durrahmaik to keep the More Bunge Vachel till I see him. I shall move that way in a day or two in order to get a better place to encamp my men in. At present I am in a bog, and my men begin to fall sick, which I can very ill afford as I have not two hundred with me.

For God's sake send me a strong supply of Madeira, Brandy, and Butter. Send them to Narsingur, and I can get them sent by small quantities to me by the Daucks, which I have settled at Mohulleea, Calcapore, and this place. The two former articles I stand in much need of, as this is the shockingest weather I ever saw in my life.

Desiring you will be kind enough to present my compliments to the Gentlemen at Midnapore, I subscribe myself, *etc.*

CHAS. MORGAN.

When I return to Midnapore, it will be necessary, I believe, to leave a Subadar and forty men here, the remainder of the Company and the gun will be sufficient at Narsin Gur. When I have been here a little longer, I shall be able to judge what will be best to do. C. M.

I had like to have forgot to reply to the last paragraph of your letter of the 28th; you desire to know if there is any occasion for the Havildar and Sepoys remaining at Jambunea. I should imagine they had better stay till my return to Narsin Gur, as Mr. Jibbanroy will be there very soon. I think your Tonnadar at Buhranpur a very sassy fellow for making complaints to you of my Havildar without letting me know anything of the matter. You might easily have supposed my men were in better order than to do anything without my directions; I imagine the Havildar's crime is endeavouring to catch some Sirdars who had plundered and cut off the head of one of the Moody's that was going to Midnapore from Narsin Gur. The man's wife came to complain to me of the people who had taken her husband's effects, in consequence of which, I ordered the Havildar at Jambunea to lay hold of them, if they did not deliver the things to the woman immediately. I suppose this is what has occasioned the complaint.

I am, *etc.*, C. Morgan

119.

CAMP AT HULDYPOCHER,

August the 8th, 1765.

(Recd. 11th do.)

DEAR SIR,

I beg your pardon for forgetting to send you in my last letter the one I mentioned to have received from Kirpasundo which was written by the Mouchunge Rajah to his Brother. If possible I will not forget to inclose it in this together with one from the Mouchunge Rajah's Dewan; I believe, to the same person or the former.

My men fall sick daily, so that when I move from this place, I shall be obliged to leave a great many behind. I shall stay here some time longer as the people seem to be very sassy: the Sirdars of this and Daly Pargannah are remarkably so. I have given orders to the poor Rajah to seize all the effects of the Sirdars which are gone with Juggernaut Doll. It will help to support him: at present he is wretchedly poor. I think you should send

him a present of some pieces of cloth and some silks for he cuts a most woful figure for a Rajah.

I don't think it worth while following the old Rajah, leaving the force here which I mentioned in my last letter will prevent his returning, and if the Baman Hatty Zemindar persists in supporting, I may take a more favourable season of the year to go and give him and the Morebunge Rajah a trimming. At present I have too small a number of men to enter the Morebunge Country as so long a march as I must necessarily take if I follow Juggernaut Doll will destroy half the men I have, and you know I have no convenience for carrying the sick which I much wanted on my march here. This is my opinion at present; it may be altered when my spies come in from Baman Hatty.

When you write to Mrs. Van, don't forget my compliments, and receive congratulations on the birth of her son.

I am, &c.,

CHAS. MORGAN.

Send me some writing paper by the first opportunity as I have none left.

130.

HULDYPOCKER,

August the 11th, 1768.

(Recd. 17th do.)

SIR,

Your's acquainting me with the Dispatch of the Hundred Maunds of Rice I received yesterday. There will be no occasion of any farther supplies, as, while I stay on this side the River, the Country will abundantly furnish me with everything I can want, and when I return to Narsingur the last supply you have sent will be sufficient for the short time it will be necessary for my remaining there. Let me know if I am to attack the Morattoes or not, though must confess I am little able, for yesterday I divided my men, an equal number to each company as there were more sick of some companies than others. They consist now of 38 men each fit for duty; and this number is decreasing daily by sickness. Another disagreeable circumstance attends my marching to Baman Hatty, which is the small quantity of provisions I can carry with me, and I shall hardly find any there.

I have a great number of sick here, two Subadars, two Jemmidars, and what is worse than all the rest, Mr. Impo Chillum has been very bad ever since my arrival. I am obliged to turn doctor myself, and I give Turlington's drops for all kinds of disorders.

Some day ago I sent for Naderam Buxey, who I left at Narsin Gur. He wrote me back word he had no bearers and the road was too dirty for him to walk, so that I shall order the Havildar, who escorted the 200 maunds of rice to take him back to Midnapore, for I don't know any use he is of to me. While I stayed at Narsin Gur he behaved very well.

Many thanks for your great supply of Wine, Sugar Candy, etc. It came in very good time, and I am infinitely obliged to you.

I am, &c.,

C. MORGAN.

Compliments to old Pelarcy, etc., etc.

111.

TO GEO. VANEUTANT, ESQ.

CAMP AT HULDOYPOCKER,

August 17th, 1768.

(Recd. 24th do.)

SIR,

I have wrote you since my arrival here three letters besides this, without receiving an answer to either of them. This day I received some paper, which I suppose you sent me, but no letter or chitt accompanied.

I have now the pleasure to acquaint you that all the Sirdars have been with me, the Ballance of the Companies account will be settled in a day or two when I shall return to Narsingur, and settle what business there is there to do. When I go from here I will leave Subadar Shaick Adam with forty men: the rest of his Company will be a sufficient garrison for Nursin Gur. I think it absolutely necessary that a Subadar and forty men should remain here to prevent the return of Juggernaut Doll. Should it not meet with your approbation, it will be only ordering them to Nursin Gur where you formerly proposed stationing Shaik Adam's Company.

As soon as I have finished the Company's Business at Nursin Gur, I suppose I may return to Midnapore. However, I will wait at Narsingur a few days for your orders. I must not stay long as we shall be short of provisions.

I understood from Kirpasindo that Fergusson, when he was at Nursin Gur, laid a tax on the people of the Pargunnahs to pay him yearly an annah on every rupee they paid to the Rajah. I have ordered the money arising from this tax to be brought to the Companies account for the present and not to be levied for the future. I shall order Naderam Hoxey to make a particular inquiry into this affair, as my account comes from bad interpreters. I acquaint you with it because it is my duty not to conceal anything that may prove to the detriment of the Company.

In my last I told you I intended ordering Naderam to Midnapore because he did not chose to travel in bad roads. I accordingly sent him orders for that purpose, but at the same time gave him his choice either to come here or return to Midnapore. He though proper to chose the former and arrived here yesterday.

I have found out Govinderam, the old Dewan, to be a very great soundrel, no less than holding correspondence with Juggernaut Doll and the Bannan Halty Zemindar without my knowledge. The lettersreceived from them have been found upon himordered him to be tried. If he is guilty, I shall punish him as a spy.

I am etc.,

C. MORGAN.

I must beg the favor of you to acquaint Rooke that I have reced the Sepoys' pay.

112.

CALCUTTA,

3rd August 1768.

SIR,

I have received your letter of the 13th July. I am obliged to you for your intelligence concerning the designs of the Morattes, and desire you will give further information from Mohibunge Raja. A strict eye should likewise be kept over the actions of the Morattes.

for, tho' I have great reason to believe that they will not venture to break with us at this time particularly, yet prudence demands our attention towards their notions.

I am (etc.),
H. VERELST

P.S.—Major Kindersley, the Commandant of Artillery, is the person you must apply to for the cloathing of the *Lascars*.—H. V.

123.

5th June 1769.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

I have been favoured with your Commands of the 2nd instant and have in consequence directed Captain Morgan with Ensign Nun and five Companies of Seapoys to march immediately to the cantonments at Gherity and act agreeably to the orders which he will there receive from you.

[G. VANSITTART.]

124.

TO THE HON'BLE HARRY VERELST, ESQ.

MIDNAPORE.
20th December 1769.

HON'BLE SIR,

Herewith you will receive an abstract of the Midnapore expenses for the month of November.

A great number of Chuars inhabiting the hills in our Western Jungles having, in conjunction with considerable bodies from the adjacent districts, invaded the Pergunnas of Burraboom and Gatsela. I have ordered Captain Forbes and Lieutenant Nun, with five Companies of Seapoys and two small field Guns, to reduce or expel them. Captain Forbes marched by the way of Gatsela, Lieutenant Nun by the way of Burraboom, and I flatter myself that they will speedily be able to effect the service they are gone upon.

I am, etc.
[G. VANSITTART.]

125.

TO CLAUD RUSSELL, ESQ.

MIDNAPORE.
3rd January 1770.

DEAR SIR,

Inclosed I send for your perusal a letter which I have received from Captain Forbes, he desires me to apply to the board on the subject of Batta for our Midnapore Battalion, but I have no right to trouble them with any further application after their reply to that which I made them in September, at the same time I am well convinced that the Seapoys, when scrambling in our Jungles, are well deserving of some consideration, and indeed can scarcely subsist without it. Mr. Verelat and General Smith have told me that they thought it really necessary. I should make them some equivalent in the contingency. This is a very irregular way, but perhaps it may be better than that either the Board should make particular exceptions to a general rule or the Seapoys be involved in real distress, or the Zemindars be loaded with contributions which they cannot afford. Now, as you are

both Collector-General and Military Paymaster, I should be glad to know your opinion; and if you do not object I will allow half Batta to be drawn among the contingencies for the Seapoys who are engaged under Captain Forbes, and Lieutenant Nun in scrambling amongst our Jungul hills, but not to any of those who are at fixed stations. Captain Forbes has cleared his side of the hills and is now on his march towards Lieutenant Nun.

When will you send me my Maps? When will you write me an answer as Collector-General concerning our Tushkees that it may be absolutely and finally adjusted?

[G. VANSITTART.]

126.

TO CAPTAIN FORBES,

MIDNAPORE,

5th January 1770.

SIR,

I have been favoured with your letter of 26th and 28th, I wish all my heart you may be able to lay hold of Bang Sing and hang him up for an example. Some such severities are very necessary. I shall be glad to see both Kirpasindon and Govindram. How far the latter may be any acts of oppression have been the cause of these disturbances I cannot pretend to say, but I do not imagine he has any way promoted them designedly. I have a notion the old Tahsildar is not altogether firm in his integrity. I have, therefore, ordered him to Midnapore, and have sent another man in his room.

Borno Cawn I think a very good man to be left at Haldypoot. Give him orders when you return to act under the command of the Gatsela Tahsildar. I would rather you should leave any other Subdar at Burraboom than Beggonant. I do not like to trust him without an Officer. He is apt to think himself too great a man and be troublesome.

[G. VANSITTART.]

127.

TO THE HON'BLE JOHN CARTIER, ESQ., PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL
OF FORT WILLIAM.
MIDNAPORE,
6th January 1770.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

As there are at present six Officers appointed to the Battalion of Pergunna Seapoys which is stationed at this Factory, Captain Forbes, Lieutenant Goodyer, Lieutenant Rooke, Lieutenant Nun, Lieutenant Bateman, I have the liberty of representing to you that here are quarters only for the accommodation of four.....and request your permission, therefore, if it be necessary for such a number of Officers to remain here, that I may build a Bungalow or house for the accommodation of the other two.

I am, etc.

[G. VANSITTART.]

128.

TO LIEUT. NUN,

MIDNAPORE,

8th January 1770.

SIR,

I have been favoured with your letters of the 16th, 20th and 28th dated, and this instant that of the 31st is arrived. I was well pleased to hear of the destruction you had made

- Ac. H.
31278

amongst the Chuars, and was convinced it would soon produce a good effect. The appointment of Loll Sing and the Mutchuleas which you have caused to be executed I entirely approve, but what is to become of Tirboobun Sing, I should be glad if he was delivered up to you and brought to Midnapore, both for fear of his raising fresh commotions and that his fate might serve as a warning to Loll Sing; but if this is not already done it will now, I fear, be too late.

Captain Forbes has settled matters with Jugganau *pater*. With respect to Sobla Sing, act agreeably to my instructions of the 8th December. If he should be obstinate and presume to make any resistance, endeavour to lay hold of him, and hang him upon the spot for an example. Should you meet with any difficulty Captain Forbes will be at hand to assist you.

Half Batta is to be allowed to the Seapoys in the Junguls: the particulars you will be informed of by the inclosed extract from my letter of this date to Captain Forbes.

Whatever Seapoys you have at Burraboom must act under the orders of the Burrampore Tannadars.

I am, etc.
[G. VANSITTART.]

129.

TO CAPTAIN FORBES

MIDNAPORE,
8th January 1770.

DEAR SIR,

I have been favoured with your letter of the 30th. If you can lay hold of Bang Sing, and Nun's negotiation with Loll Sing can be brought to a happy issue, there will certainly be no longer any occasion for your remaining in the Junguls, but till Nun's business is completed, I apprehend that your returning might expose Gatsela Pergunna to fresh inroads from the Chuars, and give those fellows fresh spirits; of this, however, you are the best judge. Whenever you think you may return, without exposing the country to the risk of further disturbances, I shall be very glad to see you. If you will give me a day or two's notice you shall find Bearers ready for you at Pertabpore. Nun complains much of want of provisions; cannot you assist him from Huldypour.

You may draw half Batta for the Seapoys under your's and Nun's command, but you must charge it among the contingencies under the name of Gratuity; and the Seapoys are to regard it as indulgence not a matter of right. A list of the particulars you will transmit to the Paymaster in the same form as Batta Bills used to be drawn out. This indulgence is not to extend to the Seapoys at Burrampore, Chatea, Jaupore and Runsing-Gore, which are a kind of fixed cantonments, but may be allowed to those who will for the present be stationed at Huldypour and Burraboom. When will your's and Nun's Bills be ready? Pearce is waiting of them.

I am, etc.
[G. VANSITTART.]

P. S.—Inclosed are copies of a letter which I have just received from Nun and my answer. His business at Burraboom, you will observe is settled, so there can be no further occasion for your remaining at Huldypour. If Nun meets with any difficulty at Améynagur you may join him there; if not, you had better proceed directly to Midnapore.

[G. VANSITTART.]

130.

TO CLAUD RUSSELL, ESQR.

MIDNAPORE,
19th January 1770.

DEAR SIR,

In my public letter to you of the 14th, I told you that I hoped the disturbances in our Junguls would be quieted before the end of this month. I now send for your perusal the 4th last letters which I have received from Captain Forbes and the four last letters which I have received from Lieutenant Nun. These will inform you on what my hopes were founded and will at the same time shew you that they are now likely to be quite disappointed. You will observe the misfortune which has happened to Lieutenant Nun by the sudden panic of his Seapoys and perhaps by a little too much security on his own part. I have, moreover, intelligence from the Tahsildar and Zemindar of Gabsela that a party of about 20 Seapoys which were left by Captain Forbes at Coochung, two Coss from Huldypour, have been cut off by treachery, and there is no doubt I think but Captain Forbes himself will be a good deal pestered amongst the Hills. I have ordered Lieutenant Bateman with a complete Company of Seapoys to reinforce Lieutenant Nun, and have written to him to send back the sick and wounded to Midnapore.

Pray be kind enough to communicate these particulars to Mr. Cartier, and return the letters when you and he have perused them.

I am, etc.,
[G. VANSITTART.]

131.

TO THE HON'BLE JOHN CARTIER, ESQR., PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOR.

MIDNAPORE,
19th January 1770.

DEAR SIR,

I have been favoured with your letter of the 17th. In consequence of unexpected misfortunes which have been happened in our Junguls, I have been obliged to order thither another complete Company of Seapoys, and this has rendered our Garrison so extremely weak that I imagine you will scarcely think it possible for us to supply any escort for Lieutenant Carter. A party of about 20 Seapoys left in a small Fort by Captain Forbes have been entirely cut off: Lieutenant Nun has been surprised amongst the Hills and Junguls by the Mountaineers. His Seapoys were seized with a panic and betook themselves to flight. A Serjeant, a Subadar and about 20 Seapoys were killed, himself another Subadar and about 40 Seapoys were wounded. For further particulars I take the liberty of referring you to Mr. Russell to whom I have written a circumstantial account of these occurrences, etc.

I am, Sir, etc.,
[G. VANSITTART.]

132.

TO THE HON'BLE JOHN CARTIER, ESQR.

MIDNAPORE,
19th January 1770.

DEAR SIR,

Mr. Carter arrived here yesterday and prepares setting out for Ballasore in three or four days. I beg your Orders, therefore, as soon as possible, whether [it be] absolutely

necessary that he should be furnished with a Company of Seapoys from hence. If this can be dispersed with, without much inconvenience, I should be glad, as almost our whole Force is at present required for the Service of our Jungals. If however you deem it really necessary that a Company should be furnished from hence, it shall be done immediately, and I will manage as well as I can.

I am, etc.,
[G. VANSITTART.]

133

TO JOHN CARTIER, ESQ.

MIDNAPORE,
6th February 1770.

DEAR SIR,

I have been favoured with your letter of the 2nd. I must confess to you I do not think Lieutenant Nun's conduct can be acquitted of imprudence and heedlessness, but, at the same time as I look upon him to be in many respects a valuable Officer, I should be sorry if he was brought to any disgrace. I am in hopes he will soon find an opportunity of taking his revenge unless the Chums will consent to a full and satisfactory submission, which, however, it is not improbable they may do, as they have restored the Gun and some of the Firelocks which they had taken. Captain Forbes joined him two days after the misfortune, but has since been obliged by a very severe fever to return to Midnapore. Lieutenant Nun is now at Burraboom with three complete companies of Seapoys and Lieutenant Goodyar is marching to Huldypour with two more, in order to secure the tranquillity of that part of the country, and to call the Coochung Zemindar to an account for cutting off the party of Seapoys which Captain Forbes had left there. Exclusive of these five Companies, there is another Company and a half upon command in different places, and there is upwards of half a Company in the Hospital: so that, even including the recruits, we have not three Companies to do duty in the Garrison. I hope, therefore, you are satisfied that I was induced by necessity only to desire you would excuse me from furnishing a party with Lieutenant Carter.

In the list Indent for Stores for the use of this Garrison there was an article for 300 Stand of Arms and with this article the Board could not then conveniently comply, but I must request it may now be done if possible for excepting which are with Lieutenants Goodyar and Nun there are not at present ten serviceable firelocks belonging to the Garrison, and etc.

134.

TO LIEUT. GOODYAR.

MIDNAPORE,
7th February 1770.

SIR,

The Coochung Zemindar having treacherously cut off a party of Seapoys, which were left in his country by Captain Forbes, forced from their habitations many of the Ryots of Huldypour, a district belonging to the Pergunna of Gatsela, and put a stop to the collection of the Company's Revenue there; you will be pleased to march to Coochung with all convenient expedition and take possession of the country, and till you hear further from me, collect the rents on Company's Account, and, if you can lay hold of the Zemindar or his brother Kirpasindoo or any others who were principally concerned in the death of the

Seapoys, you will be pleased to send them prisoners to Midnapore, but it is not my intention that you should go anywhere in pursuit of them without the limits of Gatsela or Coochung. The Haldypocur Ryots you will encourage to resettle in their former habitations and remain firm in their allegiance to the Gatsela Zemindar. Herry Churn, the former Tahsildar of Gatsela, will accompany you and assist you in the collection of the Rents of Coochung, and Punchamund, the present Tahsildar, and the Zemindar will obey any orders you may give them, but I beg you will as much as possible avoid interfering with their authority over the Pergunnas and be particularly careful that the Seapoys, etc., be not guilty of any disturbances. With firewood they will be supplied during their march by the Zemindars, but for everything else they must pay at the market price—I am, etc.

[G. VANSITTART.]

135.

TO CLAUD RUSSELL, ESQ.

MIDNAPORE,

15th February 1770.

DEAR SIR,

I have been favoured with your letter of 24th January. Captain Forbes has been obliged by a very severe attack of a fever to return to Midnapore. Lieutenant Goodyar is marched with two companies to re-establish the tranquillity of the country about Haldypocur, and Lieutenant Nun remains with three Companies at Burraboom. The Chuars have restored the Gun in hopes of peace, but after their late success, I deem it absolutely necessary that they should be quite submissive before they obtain it. I have ordered the Gatsela Dewan to Midnapore to give an account of his conduct. The Rajah complains of him as well as the Royis.

Hinchuan brought me the map. I expect to have the pleasure of seeing you in Calcutta a fortnight or three weeks hence, and am, with esteem, Dear Sir,

Your most obedient and humble Servant.

[G. VANSITTART.]

136.

TO LIEUT. GOODYAR.

MIDNAPORE,

22nd February 1770.

SIR,

I have been favoured with your letters of the 10th and 13th, and am glad to hear of your arrival at Choochung without opposition. I doubt not, but with the encouragement you give them, the Ryots of that place and Haldypocur will soon settle peaceably in their former habitations. If any of the Coochung Ryots wish to remove into the Gatsela districts let them have full liberty to do so; it will be for the Company's interest. If the Rajah's presence is not materially useful to you, pray order him back to Rum Singgur to provide for the payment of his rents.

I wish you had been fortunate enough to lay hold of Bernaye or his brother. The expeditionary march, which you made, bade very fair for Success, I think. The Sidar Chuar, whom you have taken, you will be pleased to send prisoner to Midnapore. I would not choose that you should pursue Bernaye or his brother beyond the limits of Gatsela and Coochung. But I approve of your threatening the neighbouring Zemindars and endeavouring to deter them from granting those fellows their protection. Jugganaut Poteh the

Ooperhang Zemindar, has, I believe, the justest claim to Coochung, but I am not yet determined to appoint him. Inquire of Hurry Churn and the Gatsela Rajah and the principal people about Huldypocar and Coochung and let me know whom you judge to be the properest person.

As you carried with you no more than 50 maunds of rice, it would be worth while at present to send a Sircar to you for the disposal of it. Let it be managed by Hurry Churn or by somebody on the part of Pundunand, the Tahaddar.

Inclosed is a list of some stores which I have sent you of the rope you want. These is none now ready. But I have ordered some to be made.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and humble Servant.

[G. VANSITTART.]

The ladies are well and desire their compliments.

P.S.—Inclosed is a list of some small charges belonging to your detachment which were paid by my Banyan. Be pleased to include them in your bills, and take care that the coolies, etc., who have received their wages be not paid over again.

137

MIDNAPORE,
28th February 1770.

TO THE HON'BLE JOHN CARTER, ESQR., PRESIDENT AND GOVERNOR OF FORT WILLIAM.
HON'BLE SIR:

I have been favoured with your letter of the 25th, and have, in consequence, directed Captain Forbes to raise the number of recruits you order. In the present scarcity of rice I believe it will be no great difficulty, but, as the inhabitants of this part of the country are in general rather low in stature I allow any to be received (on condition they are strong bodied men) who are five feet four inches high, which is the rule observed in the Battalion stationed here. I beg to know if you approve of this limitation, or what other you would choose to be observed. I beg to know also what you would have done with the recruits when they are raised. Shall they be kept at Midnapore till the whole number is completed. Shall they be sent to Calcutta a hundred at a time, and to whom are they to be sent. About a hundred are now ready.

I am, etc.

[G. VANSITTART.]

138

TO LIEUT. NUN.

MIDNAPORE,
21st March 1770.

SIR,

I have received your letter of the 15th and am very glad that the disturbances at Burraboons are at length almost brought to a conclusion. I know not who Samuggin is, I never heard of him before, but I imagine he is not of consequence sufficient to render it necessary for you to remain with your Detachment merely on his account. The expense of your Detachment is considerable, and in the present scarce season I apprehend you must find it a difficult matter to procure provisions. If therefore, the Burrampore Tansidar and

the Zemindar of Buttaboom are of opinion that, so large a force is no longer necessary for the security of the country, you will be pleased to take a mutaholga from the Zemindar, that he will be answerable for any disturbances, and, then leaving a Jimmadar's Party for his assistance at Hurraboom, you will return with the rest of your detachment to Midnapore, agreeably to my letter of the 2nd February. I shall set out for Dinagepore in three or four days. You will please, therefore, in future, to correspond with Mr. Pearce, and obey any orders in you may receive from him. Inclosed is a Copy of a general order which was given out in this garrison on the 5th instant. I send it you that you may caused it to be observed by your Detachment. I am Sir, etc.

[G. VANSITTART.]

130

TO LIEUT. GOODYAR.

MIDNAPORE,
5th April 1770.

SIR,—

I have just received your letter of the 1st instant upon which I will give you my opinion more fully to-morrow; with this you will only receive some medicines from the Doctor. I am sorry for the fever you have; if you find that you are not better upon receipt of this, or should be at all apprehension of any bad consequences, pray inform me directly, that I may either send the Doctor to your assistance, or also Mr. Bateman to relieve you that you may come in; but should your fever be too bad to admit of delay, I would advise you to set out immediately for Midnapore, leaving directions to the Subadars to act, under Hurry Churn, upon the defensive, only until such time another officer arrives to take the command.

The things you wrote for to Mr. Bateman set off to-morrow.

The accompanying letters pleased to forward.

I am, Sir [J. PEARCE].

Your very obedient Servant.

[No signature probably J. PEARCE]

140

6th April 1770.

TO LIEUT. NUN.

Sent the amount of his Billa Rs. 1,548-13-8 excess in Rs. 250 which he took from the Tannadar, etc.

141

TO LIEUT. GOODYAR.

MIDNAPORE
8th April 1770.

(ENCLO.)

SIR,—

I received your favour of the 8th; I would by no means have you proceed against Baminbatty. The Mohrlunge Rajah is Chief of both Baminbatty and Coohung and consequently may appoint whomever he pleases to be the Zemindars of those places; upon Goverdun Bernalick, the late Zemindar of Coohung's ill behaviour, Mr. Van Sittart

wrote to the Rajah to appoint some other person in Bernack's stead, but upon his being dilatory in the appointment Mr. Van had come to the resolution of appointing somebody or other and he fixed upon Juggunaut, since which the Raja has wrote a letter informing of his having appointed his uncle Dustrutty Binge, the Zemindar of Baminhutti, to the Zemindar of Coochlung. In which case it is much better than the having Juggunaut appointed, as the former will be much better able to support himself against competitors and without much of our assistance; therefore I am glad Juggunaut has not come to you. I have a Vakeel here from the Mahrhunge Rajah and have directed him to send for the Naib, Zemindar of Baminhutti to Midnapore. His name is Balbadhur. When he arrives, I shall finally settle the Coochlung Zemindary along with him; in the meantime you will not proceed further to the confirming of Juggunaut till you hear from me. I hope you have effectually drove away Karpasindoo, and that he will trouble us no more. I wish you could attach to our interest Souba Sing. You have forgot to send in your Military Bills these two months.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and humble Servant.

[Probably J. PEARCE].

P.S.—I hope you have got the better of your fever. Please to forward the enclosed letters.

Respecting your sick seapoys if you could send them to Ransingur, I could order the Tannadar to send them from there, or else send Doolies for them.

147

MIDNAPORE,

10th April 1779

TO RICHARD BARWELL, ESQ., MILITARY PAYMASTER-GENERAL AT FORT WILLIAM.
SIR,—

I received your favour of the 2nd instant on the 6th. The number of Tomtoms to each Company I believe is agreeable to the establishment. The Trumpeters shall be reduced to one to each Grenadier Company only for the future. As the parties on command at considerable distance, in the Western Jungles are to be advertised, the reductions shall appear in the accounts for May. Is it your direction, Sir, that I withdraw the Wages and Batta allowed by Mr. Vansittart for Lieutenant Nua's Moonshy. Herewith you will please to receive the Military Accounts of this Factory for the month of March, the account of Disbursements being Co. Rs. 13,302. I have drawn for your acceptance a Bill in favor of the Collector-General, and am

Sir,

Your very obedient and humble Servant.

[J. PEARCE].





THE EIGHT MOTHERS, BARABAR HILL.

Barabar Hills, District Gaya.



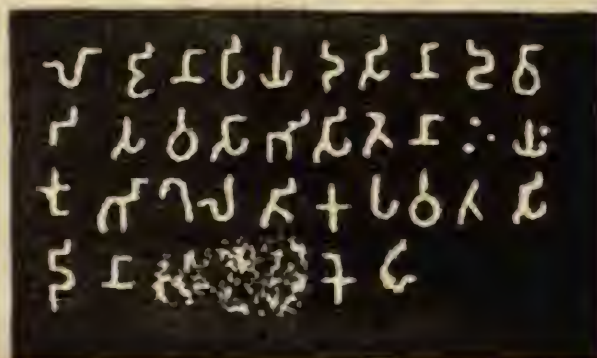
IN Major Rennell's map of 1779 the group of hills now known as Barābar, in Gaya District, is marked Caramshaw Hills. One of the first Englishmen to visit them was Sir William Jones, accompanied by John Herbert Harrington in 1784. A few years before this a Mr. Hodgekis had been deputed by the Governor-General to visit the hills, but he was assassinated by the followers of an ally of Cheyt Singh. The group consists of one large mass made up of several distinct peaks known as Barābar, on the east is Nāgarjuni and on the west is a solitary peak called Kauwā dol, it is supposed from a rocking stone which is said to have been so evenly balanced on the top of the highest pinnacle that a crow alighting would set it rocking. To the north-west are other hills known as the Dharāwat group. Round Kauwā dol cut on the face of the rock are several Hindu images as well as some Buddhist ones; the most frequent is that of Chandika destroying the buffalo demon Mahesh, the story of which is told in the Markandeya Purāna somewhat as follows:—

In days of yore war was waged between the deities and the demons for a full hundred years when Mahesha was lord of the Asuras, the gods were vanquished and Mahesha became as Indra. So the gods putting Brahmā at their head went to the abode of Śiva and Viṣṇu, who hearing their words were filled with intense anger and there issued from their mouths and from the mouth of Brahmā a great energy and from all the bodies of the other gods went forth a very great energy like a flaming mountain which pervaded the three worlds with its light and gathering into one became transfigured as a goddess, the auspicious Chandika. The deities gave the goddess arms and a lion as her vehicle who shaking his mane marched against the hostile army like fire against a forest. The Asura Mahesha furiously hurled mountains with his horns on Chandika, who pulverised them with her strong arrows. The great Asura after assuming many forms took that of a buffalo and Chandika placing her foot on his neck pierced him with her spear, and as his human form half emerged from his buffalo shape the goddess struck off his head with her ample sword.

The Barābar group consists of three principal peaks, Murī, Sandagiri and Siddhesvara. Immediately to the south of the latter peak are situated four of the seven well-known caves called by the villagers the Sātghar, all of which have inscriptions, the oldest in Pali were first deciphered by James

Prinsep and published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1837. General Cunningham (*Archæological Reports*, Vol. I) derives the name from Bara awāra or Great enclosure which may refer to the enclosure south of the Siddhesvara temple, a space which is naturally protected on all sides except on the south-east and north-east, where are the remains of old walls and of two roads made of large boulders leading down to the plain, or the name may refer to the enclosure to the east near the Nāgārjunī Hill, where are also remains of old walls. The enclosure on the hill is now best approached by a series of small steps cut on the smooth rounded face of the granite rock near the Pātāl Gangā spring. At the top of the steps, where the path passes through the old wall, the name of a pilgrim Karma Chandāl is cut on a boulder. This pilgrim has also cut his name in the Karna Chopār cave and on a rock just across the river a couple of miles to east.

The first cave is called the Viswāmītra, the inscription states that "King Piyadasi" (The Humane, the title Asoka gives himself) "twelve years after his consecration bestowed this cave in the Khalati Hill on the Ajivikas." The date of the cave is therefore 257 B.C. The word Ajivikehi is partly hacked out but still legible as the letters were cut deep (Fig. 1). Khalati

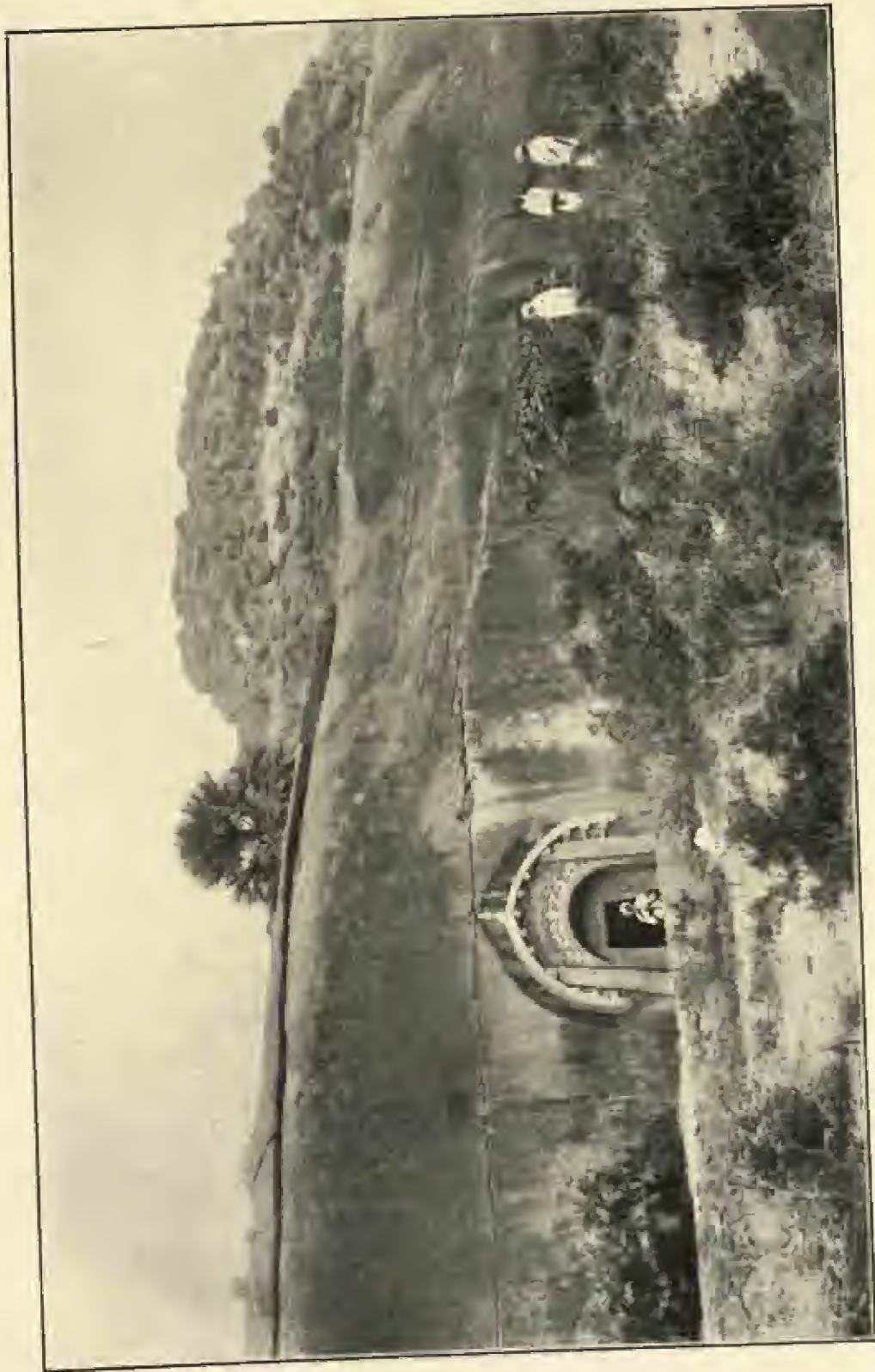


Lājina piyadasinā dāra
 dāra vas ābhāṣaṇā iyaṁ
 khalatī khalatī khalatī
 ājivikehi.

means bald, referring no doubt to the smooth bare surface of the ridge. The Ajivikas were an order of ascetics, connected with the Jains, inveterate opponents of the Buddhists, they went about naked, and are frequently mentioned in Buddhist texts. The entrance to the cave which faces south is polished and measures $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide by $6\frac{3}{4}$ feet high and 14 feet deep, a doorway with sloping jambs leads to an inner chamber which is unfinished.

ERRATA.

- Page 60. In the third word of the third line the *a* in the transliteration should be short, not long.
- " 62. In the first line of the transliteration the last letter *n* should be followed by a long *a* and in the fourth line the first *a* should be long and not short and the second one should not have a dot over it.



TOMBS OF THE RISHI CAVES, BARABAR HILLS.



The second cave is the Lomāsa Rishi also facing south. (Fig. 3.) This and the next two caves are cut in a ridge to the south-west of the Viswāmītra one; between the two ridges are the remains of a massive wall in which was a gateway and a road leading to the south-east. At the head of the road are two broken pillars, one intact, rather slender with octagonal shaft and square base and apex very slightly tapering. It is 10 feet 8 inches long, 1 foot 1 inch at apex, and 1 foot 2½ inches at base. The Lomāsa Rishi cave has no Asoka inscription; it was probably cut away when the carved porch was added in the 3rd or 4th century. The present inscription over the door was first translated by Sir Charles Wilkins (the first Englishman who acquired a knowledge of Sanscrit) and published in *Asiatic Researches* 1788: the cave was then called after the seven Rishis.

"1. Ananta Varma, master of the hearts of the people, who was the good son of Sri Sardula, by his own birth and great virtues classed amongst the principal rulers of the earth, gladly caused this statue of Krishna of un sullied renown, confirmed in the world like his own reputation, and the image of Kanteematee (? Radha) to be deposited in this great mountain cave.

"2. Sri Sardula, of established fame, jewel of the diadems of Kings, emblem of time to the martial persons of the earth, to the submissive, the tree of the fruit of desire, a light to the military order, whose glory was not founded upon the seats of a single battle, the ravisher of female hearts, and the image of Smara (Kāma Deva) became the ruler of the land.

"3. Whenever Sri Sardula is wont to cast his own discordant sight towards a foe, and the fortunate star, his broad eye is enflamed with anger between its expanded lids, there falleth a shower of arrows from the ear-drawn string of the bow of his son, the renowned Ananta Varma, the bestower of infinite happiness."

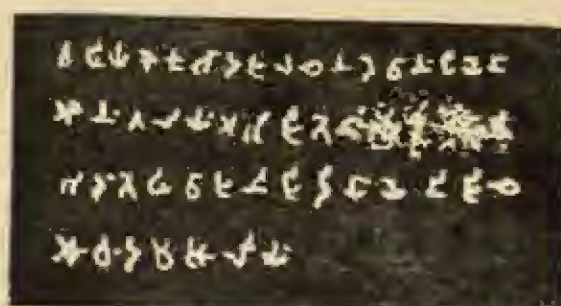
The vaulted roof is left rough, the chisel marks are as fresh as if cut only a few years ago, the sides are polished, the doorway, as those of all the caves has sloping jambs which General Cunningham curiously states is an Egyptian form (the error has been pointed out by Fergusson and Burgess). At the west end the chamber is concave and another inner circular chamber was begun but left unfinished, the outer chamber measures about 39 feet long by 20 feet wide and 12 feet high. Fergusson in his *Eastern Architecture* describes this porch as singularly interesting, "illustrating in the rock the form of the structural (wooden) chaityas of the age." Under the inscription over the doorway is cut Bodhi mula "root of intelligence" and Darīdra Kantāra 'the cave of the poor.'

The Sudāma cave immediately to the west of the Lomāsa Rishi has two finished chambers, polished throughout, the outer one is the same size as the

Lomāsa Rishi cave, the circular inner one is about 20 feet in diameter. The inscription describes it as the Nigoha (Banyan tree) cave bestowed twelve years after his consecration by King Piyadasi on the Ajivikas, a great part of the inscription has been hacked, including the word Ajivikehi, but the letters are still legible. In this cave the words Bodhi mula and Kleśa Kantāra "the cave of affliction" have been cut.

On the north side of the same ridge is the Karna Chopār, the hut of Karna. The inscription outside, west of the doorway, is much weathered and damaged; it states that King Piyadasi nineteen years after his appointment, bestowed this Supiya cave in the Khalatī Hill on The inscription is followed by a swastika and letter K. The cave is one long chamber with vaulted roof 33 1/2 feet long by 14 feet broad and 10 1/2 feet high. Outside the cave east of the door are some much worn Brahmanical figures cut on a detached rock. Inside the entrance are cut some pilgrims' names, and Daridra Kantāra, Bodhi Mula and Mahā Trinasara (the great plantain tree). From here one should go round to the other side of the tank which is in front of the cave and proceed below the temple to the path at north-east, leading to the plain by a road 25 feet wide made of large boulders at the head of which are two very fine pillars with octagonal shafts 11 feet 10 inches long 14 inches at apex and 23 inches at base.

On reaching the plain, a little to the east, one comes to the Nāgārjuni hill in which is the largest of all the caves; before visiting this, it will be more convenient to visit the two caves at the north end of the hill. They are close together facing south with a raised platform in front, on which are some Muhammadan tombs; on the east is



Vahilya kī kabhā dāsatthana darsanam piya
 ānānāliyam ābhāsitha ajivikehi
 bhāntitehi vasa nibbāyāe mātthe
 scharudama anliyam.

a big boulder under the shade of which is a recess, the top of the boulder was evidently reached in former times by a ladder, the mortice holes for which still exist. Just in front of the eastern cave is a large well. The inscription on the left side of porch (Fig. 2) states: "This well cave was excavated by King Dasāratha Beloved of the Gods on his consecration for the Ajivikas. (This has been made) for as long as the Sun and Moon shall endure." The first word was read as Vāpiya by Prinsep and Cunningham, the actual reading is Vahiya of which no one has yet succeeded in giving any satisfactory explanation. See in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX (1891) an article by Dr. G. Bühler and one by M. A. Senart translated by Dr. G. A. Grierson. Another inscription inside the porch on right was also deciphered by James Prinsep and stated by him to be of the 6th century. "The teacher Yogananda offers adoration to Siddhesvara" and there is another still older "the renown of Vasu of Videsa" and two pilgrims' names of a much later date Yogi Karma Mārga and Bhuyankara Nātha. The cave west of the Vāpiya or Vahiya cave and quite close to it, is in the inscription which is over the doorway, called the Vadathī, the rest of the inscription being the same as on the other. The first two letters of Ajivikehi have been hacked. General Cunningham gives the meaning as the secluded cave or the secluded mendicant's cave. These two caves are small and measure about $16\frac{3}{4}$ feet by $11\frac{1}{4}$ feet and are about 10 feet high, the roofs are vaulted, the doorway is narrow 2 feet 10 inches wide. In the Vadathī cave is a long Sanscrit inscription on the right of doorway; it was translated by Sir Charles Wilkins as follows:—

"1. The auspicious Sri Vajra Varma, whose movement was as the sportive elephant's in the season of lust, was like Manu the appointer of the military station of all the chiefs of the earth. By whose divine offerings, the God with a thousand eyes (Indra) being constantly invited, the emaciated Powlomee (wife of Indra) for a long time, sullied the beauty of her cheeks with falling tears.

"2. Ananta Varma by name the friend of strangers, renowned in the world in the character of valour; by nature immaculate as the lunar beams, and who is the offspring of Sri Sardula. By him this wonderful statue of Bhrotapatee and of Devi (Mahadeva and Pārvati) the Maker of all things, visible and invisible and the granter of boons, which hath taken sanctuary in this cave, was caused to be made. May it protect the universe!

"3. The string of his expanded bow, charged with arrows, and drawn to the extremity of the shoulder, bursteth the circle's centre. Of spacious brow, propitious distinction! and surpassing beauty, he is the image of the moon with an undiminished countenance. Ananta Varma to the end! Of form like Smara (Kāma) in existence, he is seen with the constant and

affectionate standing with their tender and fascinated eyes constantly fixed upon him.

"4. From the machine his bow, reproacher of the crying Koorara (a bird that cries before rain) bent to the extreme he is indued with force; from his expanded virtue he is a provoker; by his good conduct his renown reacheth to afar; he is a hero by whose coursing steeds the elephant is disturbed and a youth who is the seat of sorrow to the women of his foes. He is the director and his name is Ananta."

The Gopi ka kubhā or Milkmaid's cave is on the south side of the hill about half of the way up; it is reached by a flight of steps. The inscription on the outside above the door is intact though very much weathered, with the exception of the first word Gopi it is the same as that on the Vahiya and Vadathi caves. The cave measures $46\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by 19 feet wide, the ends are semi-circular, the vaulted roof is $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. One name cut inside the cave on right is Acharya Sri Yogananda. There is also a long Sanscrit inscription in characters of the 3rd or 4th century, translated by Sir Charles Wilkins, and published in 1788. James Prinsep in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1837, also gives translation of it with slight variations. The original translation runs thus:

"When the foot of the goddess was with its tinkling ornaments planted upon the head of Maheshasura, all the bloom of the new-blown flower of the fountain (epithet of lotus) was dispersed, with disgrace, by its superior beauty. May that foot, radiant with a fringe of refulgent beams issuing from its pure bright nails, endue you with a steady and an unexampled devotion, offered up with fruits, and show you the way to dignity and wealth!

"The illustrious Yagra Varma was a Prince whose greatness consisted in free-will offerings. His reputation was as unsullied as the Moon. He was renowned amongst the Martial Tribes; and although he was by descent, by wisdom, courage, charity and other qualities, the fore leader of the royal line; yet from the natural humility of his temper, he disturbed not the powerful ocean. His auspicious son, Sardula Varma, a prince whose magnificence flowed as it were, from the tree of imagination, displayed the ensign of royalty in sacrifices, and the world was subdued by his infinite renown. He gratified the hopes of his relatives, friends and dependants; and honour was achieved from the deed of death near the uprising ocean.

"By his pious son, called Ananta Varma because of his infinite renown the holy abode of us contemplative men, who are always studious for his good and employed in his services, hath been increased, and rendered famous as long as the earth, the sun and moon and starry heaven shall endure; and

Kātyāyanī (Chandika) having taken sanctuary, and being placed in this cavern of the wonderful Vindhya Mountains.

"The holy Prince gave unto Bhowani in perpetuity the village... (Prinsep translates Dandi) and its hilly lands, by whose lofty mountain tops the sunny beams are cast in shade. Its filth and impurities are washed away by the precious stores of the Mahānāda and it is refreshed by the breezes from the morning Preeyangoos (*Michelia Champaca*) and Bakoolas (*Mimusops elengi*) of its groves."

West of the hills are the remains of a factory for smelting iron which was given up before the Mutiny, it is not mentioned in Buchanan Hamilton's book, written in 1808 to 1816 and edited by Montgomery Martin in 1838, though he mentions the iron ore. The ruins are called *chota Calcutta* by the villagers. The name *Caramshaw* is probably derived from Karna Chopar the hut of Karna, the half brother of the Pandavas who, Buchanan-Hamilton says, is supposed to have passed some years here. *Lomāsa Rishi* is said by the same author to have been a very hairy Rishi or saint of remote times. *Vishvamisra* was one of the Great Seven Rishis. *Nāgārjuna*, who lived about 200 A.D., was one of the founders of the Mahāyana or Great Vehicle and the first teacher of the *Amitābha* doctrine.

The Siddhesvara temple may be reached from the north-east and from the north-west or a short cut may be made from near the four caves, the easiest route is from the north-west by an old road made partly of boulders and partly by cuttings through the rock. A little way up this road is a row of the Eight Sakties carved in a low relief on the roadside rock. (Fig. 4.)



PANEL AT BELA TEMPLE.

As the photo shows, the figures are very worn, they are about two and a half feet in height. Fig. 5 is from a panel at Bela in which apparently the same

Sakties are given but the order is reversed. It is related in the Markandeya Purāṇa how after the killing of Mahesha, Chandikā vanished; being invoked by the gods to help them again in the war against the Asuras, she was reborn from the brow of Pārvatī and after slaying the Asuras Chanda and Munda was called Chamunda. At this time their energies issued from the bodies of Brahmā, Siva, Gohā (Karttikeya), Vishnu and Indra and proceeded in the respective forms of the gods to Chamunda to help her in destroying the Asuras. Taking them in the order of the Bela sculpture they are thus described in the Purāṇa:

Hari assumed the peerless form of Varāha riding on a buffalo.

Indrānī, holder of the Vajra, was mounted on the elephant Airāvata.

Vaishnavī sitting on Garuda held the mace.

Kaumārī held a lance being mounted on a choice peacock.

Maheshwarī rode on a bull holding her excellent trident.

Brahmāmurtī broke the breasts of the Asuras with her discus.

Brahmānī destroyed the enemy by pouring water on them from her Kamandala.

The Sakti of Narasinha is omitted in the Barābar and Bela sculptures, the Sakti of Brahmā being represented twice over in order apparently to equalize the manifestations of Brahmā, Vishnu and Siva. In Pargiter's translation Brahmāmurti is not given at all; but she is mentioned as above in the translation by Babu Manmatha Nath Dutt (Calcutta 1896). The panel gives a goose instead of peacock to Kaumārī and a bull instead of a goose to Sarasvatī (Brahmānī).

Near this are other similar carvings of Siva and Pārvatī and of Ganesh and on nearing the temple are a number of lingams also cut in the rocks. Through the hill run veins of iron ore, the road crosses one several tens of feet in thickness and of unknown depth. Below the temple a Mela is held every year in the month of Bhado; here there is a large image of Varāha, the Boar incarnation of Vishnu, long curls of hair hang down on the right shoulder, the right elbow is pointed upwards, on it is a female figure representing Prithivī, the Earth, raised from the depths. At the temple outside are several large Brahmanical images and part of the Kamala ornament which once graced the top of the building. Very little of the temple is now left, what remains is built of massive blocks of stone, with a handsome bold moulding cut round it. In the temple are the images of Bageshwari with Bhairava and Ganesh as attendants and Pārvatī attended by Ganesh and Karttikeya; in an inner chamber is a large lingam known from the inscription in the cave near the well to date back to 6th or 7th century. There is also an image of Chandikā in her frenzied dance representing the moment when glancing down she

recognizes that it is her husband's body she is dancing on and instinctively puts up her left fore finger to her mouth, a more pleasing gesture than the usual lolling tongue. The roof of the chamber in which these images are is of stone blocks supported on massive stone cross beams. Below the temple on the north side is a huge natural pocket in the rock seven to fourteen feet across, forty-three feet long and thirty-three feet deep, which holds water all the year round. This is reached by the Bawan Sirhi or 52 steps cut in the rock. Near are several small caves sometimes inhabited by *fakirs*.

Of Chandika, who is so often figured at Kanwā dol and referred to in the inscription of the Milkmaid's cave, there are a series of images at village Bela four miles south-west of Kanwā dol, in a modern temple built on the site of an old one. The principal image is eight armed with bristling hair, hollow stomach, flat breasts, bones all showing, holding in right hands skull cup, trisul, sword, curved dagger, in left hand skull staff, vajra, bell and human head held by the hair. A few small and broken Buddhist reliefs are also lying about.

North-west of Barabar at a distance of about two miles is the village Dharawat in which are the remains of a mud fort said to have been built by Raja Padumchakra, the site of the house of his Dewar, who was named Bhikham, is also pointed out. South of the village is a large tank called Chandokhar Tāl. The story told of its origin, which every villager knows, is contained in a manuscript of which a few copies exist. It tells how Raja Chandra Sen, son of the above-named Raja, killed his sister's son in a fight and how the dagger he used remained fixed in his grasp till one day when he was thirsty he sent for water of which only a small lotah could be obtained. The Raja seeing a calf which was badly in want, gave the water to it, and as the calf drank it up, his grasp on the dagger relaxed. To commemorate this, the Raja had the tank dug. On the eastern side of the tank are two Hindu temples, one old and one modern. On the platform between the two is a large twelve-armed statue called Bhairava (see previous article). In the older temple is an image of Surya four-armed, on the base instead of the usual seven horses is a single horse and chariot in profile, above which is the charioteer Aruna. A panel about two feet long is carved in low relief with figures of the sun and moon, Rahu the dragon's head and Ketu the dragon's tail and the five planets Mangala, Budha, Vrihas pati, Sukra and Sani, (Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn.)

Not far from the tank, forming a part of a small range to south, is a curious hill in which the granite has become fissured and weather-worn into a pile of boulders like a heap of gigantic marbles, so that it may be traversed from end to end by a winding path passing under and between the rocks.

The whole trip from Bela can hardly be done in one day, it is better to take Kāuwā dol and the seven caves the first day and Siddhesvara temple and Dharāwat on the second.

A. W. KEITH.



Notes on Some Buddhist Remains in Magadha.

NO. 2. KURKIHAR, PUNAWA, KAUWA DOL AND PRETSILA.



NEAR to Cocks-foot Mountain, described in the September number of this journal, are two modern villages Kurkihār and Punāwā, the former 5 or 6 miles to north-east and the latter 2 miles to north, both of which are built near the sites where once stood important Buddhist temples.

General Cunningham derives the name of the first from Kurak vihāra (Cock's temple) and conjectured that the three-peaked Cocks-foot Mountain was one of the hills forming a part of the long range north of the village. The real Cocks-foot Mountain does not appear as three-peaked from this direction. There can be little doubt that there was some connection between the Cock's vihāra and the Cock's-foot Sanghārāma or Monastery, the best images found at both are of the same fine workmanship, unsurpassed by any that have been found elsewhere in Magadha. It is noticeable that at Kurkihār there are none of the later heterodox crowned images of the Buddha nor of the late elongated pattern of votive stupas as found in the Hasra Kol. In the year 1848 Major Kittoe carried off from here ten cart loads of images which are now in the Calcutta Museum and in 1903 some other images were also removed to the Museum including a very fine Avalokita (No. 5859) represented as seated in the teaching attitude in the Potalaka cavern, with the five Dhyāni Buddhas seated in niches in the rocks above his head. The sculptures are of the Pāla dynasty period (815-1193).

On approaching the village the first thing noticeable is a large tank which is now much silted up and contracted from its former dimensions; north of this is a Thakurbārī built on an extensive mound from which the images were dug out: south of this mound, fixed in the pillar of a well, are two standing images of four-armed Avalokita, the two principal hands are as in two-armed images, the others hold rosary in right hand and vase in left, round about are several stupa domes thirty inches in diameter and eighteen inches high. North of the Thakurbārī built on the same mound is the village Patsāla; there is now a broken image here which was dug out of the big mound some four years ago; it is of Avalokita with the five Dhyāni Buddhas ranged round the head. On the courtyard wall there are four figures in niches. (1) Sākhyā Muni in witness attitude, (2) Tārā with long curls holding a blue lotus in left hand, the right hand is in charity attitude, she is seated in Lalita pose. She has a female

attendant on left holding a vajra in right hand. (3) Śākhyā Muni in witness attitude on a lion throne, (4) Śākhyā Muni as pilgrim; on right is a three-headed deva, on left a male figure adorned with high head dress, necklace, etc., holding a bowl; this probably represents the descent of the Buddha from the Tushita heaven where he went to teach the Law to his mother Māyā, which seems to have been a favourite subject in Magadhā; here the usual order is reversed, as Brahmā is generally shown holding fly whisk and vase and Indra the umbrella. (See Hiuen Tsiang Book 4 and Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, Chapter 3.)

At the Hindu Temple north of the village is a large and instructive collection of images. The finest is of Akshobhya as the inscription near the head states; on the left of the head is a small image of Avalokita and on the right is Vajrasattva. It is noticeable that the lions on the back of the throne have got horns.

Next to this image is a standing six-armed Avalokita with a stupa on each side of the head; there are some other six-armed standing Avalokitas and one in Lalita pose: one sculpture has not only an image of Amitābha seated in the hair, but also another over head and a Dhyaṇi Buddha on each side; there are two two-armed Avalokitas and one four-armed.

Of Manjusri there is one image in Mahārājalīlā pose, left hand holding a blue lotus surmounted by book, right hand in a nonchalant attitude resting on the knee; a stupa is on right side of head. Another Manjusri is in Lalita pose, left hand holding a blue lotus surmounted by book, the right hand in charity attitude (compare Pander's *Das Pantheon* No. 94). Two other standing images also appear to be of the same Bodhisattva and have each a male attendant with bristling hair holding a club; in one the blue lotus is surmounted by book, in the other it is unsurmounted. All have the hair done up in bands hence his title of *Pancacira* and *Tricira*.

Of Maitreya there is one small image holding Champa flower in left hand. He has long curls of hair and a stupa in head dress, the right hand is in charity attitude; he is seated in Lalita pose.

Of Śākya Muni there are several images in witness and teaching attitudes, and some as Pilgrim: none of them are crowned.

Of Tārā there are two two-armed figures with blue lotus, another female figure has four arms, two in meditation and two holding each a rose lotus.

Close to the Akshobhya is a large very fat image of Jhambala holding mongoose under left arm and a lime fruit in right hand; he has long curls of hair and is seated in Lalita pose.

Perhaps the most interesting image is the one shown in Fig. 1 of Chunda, called the mother of the Buddha or sometimes the Mother of all the Buddhas. She is seated on a grass mat cushion supported on the back of a



FIG. 1. CHYNDIA AT KURKIBAR.

lion, (the features of which are overdrawn in the print) in her lap is a child. This sculpture might well pass for Doorga (Chandi) from whom the Buddhist Chunda is derived, a very similar image of Doorga is in the Calcutta Museum, the upper hands holding sword and buckler, the left lower hand supporting a child in her lap. In the Kurkihār image the attitude of the lower left hand is curious, it does not support the child but points to the ground. In the Bishenpur collection from Hastā Kol, there is a small two armed female figure with child, in similar pose the pendant foot resting on a lion, the attitude of the hands being identical with that of the two lower hands in the Kurkihār image and above the head is a surmounting image of Amitābha. Some interesting remarks about Tchundi (Chunda) are given in S. Beal's *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*.

In the inner shrine which no European is allowed to penetrate are said to be a large eight-armed Doorga overcoming Mahesh, a smaller Doorga (? Chunda) with eighteen arms, two images of Avalokita with six arms, one with four arms sitting and another with four arms standing. There are two Buddhas in witness attitude. The temple has two rows of pillars, of the usual Buddhist type, octagonal shafts and square base and apex. Built into a wall opposite the temple is a large Buddha in teaching attitude, and on the edge of a tank west of the village is a large fine Buddha in witness attitude on a lion throne.

At the village Punāwā hardly anything is left but a few pillars and some small and unimportant images. Some three years ago a large image was removed from here and is now in the Calcutta Museum near the steps. It is of a Buddha in witness attitude on a lion and elephant throne, with two attendants holding fly whisks, above are three branches of the Bodhi tree and two garland bearers. A small image of Jhambala was taken away at the same time. There is left a large grass-covered mound, and a few pillars of a temple to Triloknāth; the doorway of this temple was removed by Mr. A. M. Broadley to Bihar and later to the Calcutta Museum. It may be recognised, at once, as on the architrave are the five Dhyanī Buddhas in the following order (left to right): Amoghasiddhi, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Akshobhya, Vairocana (see Broadley's *Photographs of the Buddhist Sculptures discovered in Behar*. Calcutta 1872, a copy of which is in the Imperial Library). West of the mound is a solitary granite pillar ten feet high, the base of which is embedded 6 inches in the rock. It differs from the usual pattern in having the centre shaft of sixteen sides instead of eight and a niche for an image on north side cut in the base.

Near to this is a remnant of a large statue of Marici, a once popular deity in Magadha now only recognizable by the needle held in right hand and a boar on the pedestal. In a neighbouring village there was a large

sitting figure of Vajrasattva with Vajra in right hand and bell in left. This has now been removed to Bishenpur.

Kauwā dol is an isolated hill west of the Barābar group; it has been identified as the site of the Silābhadrā monastery mentioned by the pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang and described by him as resembling a stupa. Rather less than half way up the hill on the south side is a level space on which are numerous traces of former occupation. Two roads appear to have led to this place, one from east and one from south, near where they join rests a large boulder under the shade of which and protected by it are two diagrams roughly cut on the rock and very much worn. The larger at first sight appears to be a chequered board of forty-nine squares, but closer inspection shows that several of the lines of the squares are missing and with a little trouble the actual design can still be made out as shown in Fig. 2 (a). The design

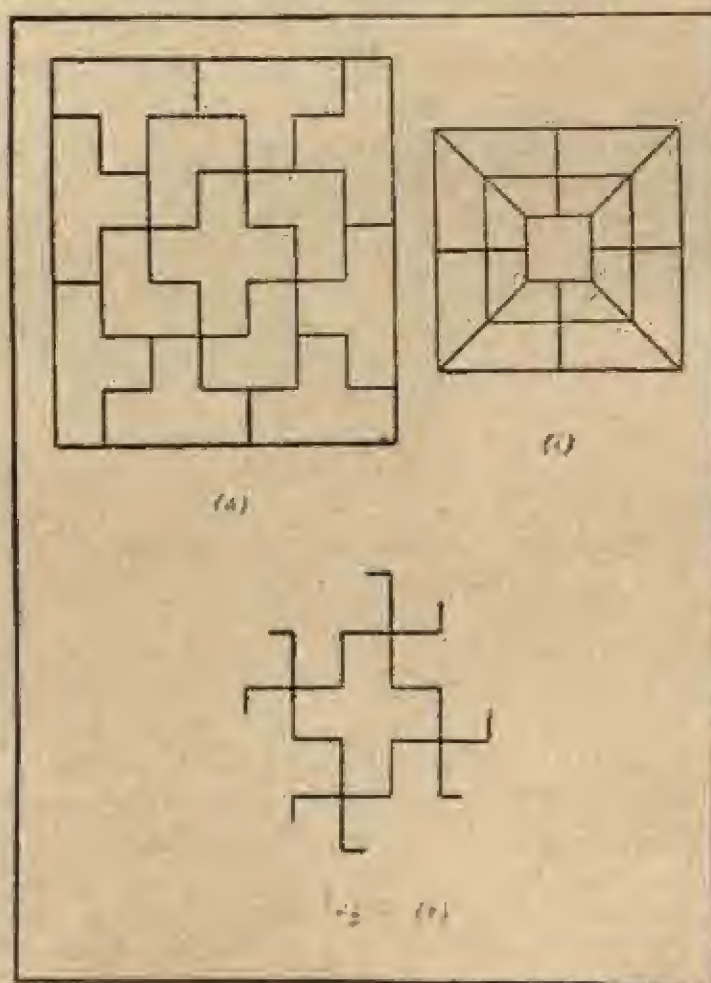


FIG. 2. DIAGRAMS AT KAUWA DOL.





FIG. 3. COLOSSAL BUDDHA AT KAOWA DOL.

measures fourteen by sixteen inches and appears to be based on the swastika (b) in much the same way as is the "double Grecian Key pattern" so common on Tibetan curios. Each division is itself a part of a swastika, the divisions also represent sections of the pillar bracket capitals commonly used in Buddhist buildings in Magadha. It seems curious that the design was not made quite square. The other diagram (c) measures ten inches, the inner squares measure six inches and two and three-quarter inches. This same design slightly smaller is repeated on the top of a boulder a little to the south and here apparently it formed one of a set, but the rock is very much worn and this cannot be made out with any certainty. In plate 20 of the Atlas of Schlagintweit's Buddhism in Tibet is a series of nine similar diagrams (of the two inner squares only) arranged in rows of three. This is explained on pages 316 and 317 as being a table for divining the felicity of proposed marriages. In all probability the Kauwā dol designs are the marks of the masons who built the monastery of which barely one stone now remains on another, and but little is left save a few faint indications cut on the rock.

Close to the two designs referred to is a superficial cutting five feet square about an inch deep, the surface being levelled. There are two other such squares—further east the same size and one of eight feet and two squares and one circle measuring three feet; here also are two sets of parallel lines four feet apart and over sixty feet long running east and west, as if marking out the place of a wall. East of the boulder sheltering the two diagrams are the remains of an old building; several round stone blocks about three feet in diameter and one and a quarter feet thick lie scattered about and there are two raised square tables four inches high formed by cutting away the surrounding rock, one is three feet square and the other rather smaller. At the eastern extremity of this ridge on a flat boulder is cut the ground plan of a small temple with pillars at each corner and a centre shrine, the square pillar bases are still lying below in clefts of the rock. There are also many quarrying marks showing where pillars, etc., have been excavated.

On the east side of Kauwā dol just below this level space are the remains of a temple of which thirteen pillars are now standing. They vary slightly but on an average measure 9 feet high 10 inches at apex and 16 inches at base. In the south-west corner is a colossal statue of the Buddha in the witness attitude, eight feet high, exclusive of pedestal (Fig. 3). This is by far the largest statue now left in Magadha, the next to it in size being one at Baragaon near Bihar. The inscription on the pedestal is the Buddhist creed in characters of the 9th or 10th century. The stone step shown in front is accurately centred and marked with lines, the floor is made of large tapering pillar-like blocks. Under the Garuda on Buddha's right may be seen *in situ* some of the old bricks of which the temple was built.

the top one measures 18 inches by 13 inches by $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Besides the small sitting headless figure shown in photo is a large standing one, also headless with attendant at each side; at the foot of the one on left is carved a tiny elephant probably indicating that this disciple is Ananda. Carved on the rocks round the hills are numerous Brahmanical statues: on the east side at the end of a line of such are three Buddhist figures, one of Buddha in witness attitude, the other two are said by the late Dr. Bloch to be of Prajñāpāramitā and Vajrasattva but as he gave no reasons for this conjecture, the identification may be considered very doubtful; on the south side is another Buddha in witness attitude next to which is Jhambala, then come Lakshmi and other Hindu deities.

A couple of miles to east are the well-known caves of Barābar. There does not appear to be any doubt that Barābar is the hill called in Beal's translation of Hsüen Tsiang, "Cloud Stone Mountain." Watter's translation runs "among its sombre masses of clouds and rocks lodged immortals, poisonous snakes and fiery dragons lurked in the hollow of its marshes," Barābar has a marsh on it to this day, which in recent times has been made into a series of reservoirs for irrigation of paddy fields. Below is the Pātāl Gangā spring which seems to be the one referred to by Hsüen Tsiang as north of Gaya, though the distance he gives is much less than the actual measurement; he does not mention the caves as they were probably then inhabited by the heretical sect of Ajivikas. He goes on to say that "on the east ridge of the mountain was a tope on the spot on which the Buddha stood to obtain a view of Magadha."

Near the village of Dharāwat about two miles north of Barābar are two Hindu temples close together situated at the edge of a large tank and on a masonry platform between them rests a slab (Fig. 4) measuring 7 feet by 4 feet, on which is carved a 12-armed image of Avalokita standing under an arch of lotus stalk from which grow flowers supporting figures. In the hair is an image of Amitābha. On left side of the slab, not shown in photo, are images of a Buddha, a hansa, and a snake. Outside the lotus stalk are the seven precious things. On right, the Wheel, the Wife, the Horse, the Treasurer; on left the Jewel, the Elephant, the General. On right below the Treasurer is an image of Vajrasattva. Inside the lotus arch are a stupa and two Buddhas, one in teaching, the other in witness attitude, both in the unchangeable pose. Of the two principal hands, the right one now broken, appears to have been in the usual charity attitude, the left holds the arched lotus stalk, of the attributes decipherable are two rose lotuses, a rosary and a book. On the lotus stem is carved another hansa. The identification of attendants is rather a subject for caution, here they seem to be on right, two armed Tārā, and Sudhānā Kumāra, the latter has a flowing waist band, the



FIG. 4. AVALOKITA AT DHARAMAT.



FIG. 5. AVALOKITES AT KURWA HILL.

left hand holding a lotus and making a gesture like that for the evil eye, on the left are four armed Bhrikuti and Hayagriva with bristling hair, a club is by his side. Near the temple under a Pipal tree are many bits of broken statues and stupas; the base of one of the latter has been converted into a Yoni.

In the village north of the tank is a curious bas relief of the Seven Precious Things in which the chief position is given to the Treasurer who is placed in a niche in the centre. The name of the donor or devotee cannot be read, dharma-yam is clear. Another stone now forming part of a Hindu altar has the Buddhist creed engraved on it. A little way east of the village is a Brahmanical image with the Buddhist creed. Several small baked clay stupas were found several years ago, with baked clay impressions of seals inside, a few of them are in the Calcutta Museum.

The pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang relates that above 30 li to the north-west of the spot where the Buddha gazed on the plains of Magadha on the "slope of a mountain, was a monastery the high bases of which were backed by the ridge, the high chambers being hewn out of the cliff—it has been built in honour of Gunamati Bodhisattva who here vanquished in argument the great Sankhya Doctor Madhawa" (Watters). Beal translates "on a declivity of the mountain flanked by a high precipice, the lofty walls and towers stand up in intervals of the rocks." This is the Kurwa or Kunwa Hill, south of the Chandoikhar tank and north of the Ratani range. There are still remains on the Kurwa Hill showing tiers of terraces, the longest one near the centre faces the tank to north. The hill is shaped somewhat like the letter S lying east and west, at the highest point of the west curve are the remains of a platform immediately under which is a natural cavern some fifty feet long.

Just below this on ground level resting against the hill with a brick wall behind, facing north and apparently in its original position is a standing figure of Avalokita (Figure 5) two armed about 6 feet high with the Buddhist creed inscribed round the head, an image of Amitabha is in the hair, long curls hang down the shoulders. A rose lotus is held in the left hand, the right is in charity attitude. His attendants are, on right Tārā two armed, with blue lotus in left hand and jewel in right. On left is the four armed Bhrikuti with lotus and water vessel (broken off short) in left hands, one right hand is raised and the other holds a rosary in the open palm. Just on the right is an image of Tārā. Close by are a row of standing figures very worn, one is of Buddha as pilgrim, another is of Avalokita, and next to them is a smaller figure of Jambhala, sitting on a lion and dwarf supported throne, holding under his left arm a mongoose with a string of jewels issuing from its mouth. The face of the image has been much damaged. The bricks of the monastery are said (Archaeological Reports, Vol. XVI) to have been each

stamped with a stupa, very few are left now as digging by villagers has been going on for generations.

At the village Lat, nine or ten miles north-east of Dharawat, lying in the fields as it was left hundreds of years ago, perhaps over two thousand, is a huge monolith, measuring fifty-three and a quarter feet long, forty inches at base and thirty-six inches at apex, the shaft has sixteen sides, the ends are square, this was undoubtedly quarried at Barabar, and was, one must suppose, on its way to Pataliputra, its position indicating that it was being taken towards the old pilgrim road which led from that place to Rājagriha. About a hundred years ago, Maharaja Mitrajit Singh of Tikāri tried to remove the pillar to his headquarters but the wily Brahmans were too sharp for him, the earth that was dug out in the day was mysteriously filled in at night; the descendants of the Brahmans hold a jagir of the lands round the pillar granted by the Maharaja to this day.

At Pret Sila, a hill 340 feet high, five miles north-east of Gaya, presumably once the site of a Buddhist monastery, at the foot of the steps leading up the hill is an image of Avalokita a photo of which is given in the September number of this journal, next to it on right is a smaller image of two-armed Tārā. In the temple on the top are three Buddhist images, the centre one cut on a slab is about three feet high (Figure 6). It is a form of Avalokita, over the left shoulder is a strip of antelope skin, ornamented with the head and horns. Round the head the creed is engraved, an image of Amitābha is seated in the hair which is done up in a high cone. On right of head is a small image of Amoghasiddha. The attributes are rosary, rose lotus and hook. The attendants below appear to be Tārā on right and Ekajātā with four arms holding a curved dagger on left. On right of this image is a smaller one of Buddha in witness attitude, with a branch of the Bodhi tree above his head, a stupa on either side, he is seated on a lion throne with robe spread out in centre. On left is another Avalokita with six arms almost identical with that below at the foot of the stairs. The present temple is made up of old pillars with octagonal centre shaft and square base and apex above which are bracket capitals, one of them stands on a design of sixty four squares, measuring 20 inches across cut on the smooth surface of the granite rock in just such a way as is shown in the Bharhut sculpture of the gamblers (see Dr. Anderson's Calcutta Museum Catalogue and Dr. Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*). One cannot help wondering if this and the diagrams at Kauwā dol may not be like those for which the Bhikkhus living on Kīṭā Hill (passed on the way from Benares to Srāvastī) are blamed as "they used to amuse themselves at games with eight pieces and ten pieces, and with games at dice." (*Kullavagga* Chapter I). Or perhaps such as were used as divining boards by others who earned "their living by wrong means of



FIG. 6. AVALOKITA AT PREY SULA.

livelihood, by low arts such as determining whether the site for a proposed house or pleasure is lucky or not or arranging a lucky day for marriages, etc. (Dialogues of the Buddha Chapter I.) Many stones of the former building have been used in the stairway leading up the hill which was made in 1774. A little below the temple on the south side is a fairly large and level space, and there is a smaller level space on north, both have traces of former habitations, east of the temple on south side leading to the highest peak is a very solid stone wall which has no connection at all with the modern buildings and probably dates back to remote times. This is just such a spot as must have been an ideal one for the meditative brotherhood. From it is to be seen a lovely panorama full of interest. At the end of the sinuous road starting from the foot of the hill is Ramsila (372 feet high) south of which lies the modern town of Gaya adjoining the old town almost overshadowed by Mount Gaya now known as Brahmajuni (450 feet high) where Buddha preached his sermon on The Burning. (Mahavagga Chapter I.) On the further side of the yellow streak of the dry bed of the river Phalgu is the Morā Tāl line of hills on which are the remains of seven stupas, said to have been built by Asoka, here also is the cave of Prāg Bodhi, where the Buddha wandered to when deserted by his five companions and left his shadow, "still bright" in the time of Fa Hian. On the near side of the river, the base hidden by the Brahmajuni range is the great temple of Buddha-Gaya, above which the two streams of the Nīlājan and Mohāna unite to form the Phalgu, in the distance is Lohāwar (1800 feet) Gurpa's two peaks are seen to the south-east; then comes the huge mass of Maher and the Cock's-foot Mountain between two lower hills, its striking shape and three peaks clearly discernable, behind which, visible only on the clearest of days, is Duvāsārhi (2,202 feet) in Rāmgārhi, bordering on Magadha, called after the irascible sage who brought the curse on Sakuntalā. In a north-east direction lies the range which ends at Giryek beyond Rajgir and the Vulture peak; to the north are the Barābar hills; here the Phalgu, as such is known no more, as it divides into the Sundh and Mohāna. West of Barābar is Kauwā dol seen broadside on, so not having the stupa like form it has when seen from east or west, behind this is the Ratani range shutting out from view the Kurwa hill, on the terraced side of which once Buddhist monks discoursed and learned doctors wrangled.

A. W. KEITH.



Memoir of Governor Brooke.

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ALTHOUGH the subject of this memoir carries us back to a comparatively early period of the annals of British India, his services were too prominent not to deserve this tardy commemoration.

Colonel Robert Brooke was a native of Ireland; where he was born about the year 1746.

In 1764 Mr. Brooke, then about eighteen, arrived in Bengal, and was immediately appointed an ensign in Captain Ironside's battalion of sepoy (the tenth), which, shortly after the battle of Buxar, "one of the most critical and important victories in the history of British wars in India," joined the army under the command of Major, afterwards Sir Hector Munro. In his first campaign against Cossim Ali Khan and Sujah Dowla, Ensign Brooke obtained a small separate command, was victor in an engagement near Allahabad, taking the places he was sent against, and saving the life of Major A. Forbes Auchmuty, who was surrounded in a village by several thousand horse, by forcing his way through them with twenty-eight men of the rear-guard and defending the place till relieved. He planted the English colours on the Fort of Calpee, in the remarkable engagement with the Maharattas on the banks of the Jumna in 1765, when he commanded the advance-guard. Under Lord Clive's government, when the officers resigned on account of the batta in 1766, Mr. Brooke marched with the 8th battalion, which he commanded, from Surajepore to Allahabad, surprising celerity, and thereby arrived in time to prevent a serious mutiny.

In 1767 he accompanied the detachment sent by the Bengal Government to the aid of the presidency of Fort St. George, then pressed by Hyder Ali, and served on the coast. He led the attack against Vancambatty, driving out a battalion of the troops disciplined by French and Germans, with two companies of Bengal sepoy grenadiers, and planting the English colours in the fort in the heat of the engagement.

Soon after he had the command of the sepoy grenadiers of the army under General J. Smith, which distinguished itself greatly during this severe campaign. Under Colonel Wood, he served as principal engineer, on the death of Captain McLean, at the sieges of Darumpoory, Attoor and other places. He served, likewise, under General Mathews at the attempt to storm Mulwagul, which is described in a very picturesque manner by Colonel

Wilks in his *History of the South of India*.* The rock of Mulwagol had been occupied by Colonel Smith, in whose absence the field deputies had reduced the garrison, and Hyder Ali got possession of it. Colonel Wood recovered the lower fort, but was beaten off with loss in an attempt to carry the rock by escalade. The next day he was led, whilst reconnoitring with a small force, so far from camp, that he was surrounded by a body of 3,000 horse and a heavy column of infantry, Hyder's whole army advancing about a mile in front and sending reinforcements. Colonel Wood formed his little body (four companies) into a square and commenced his retreat, a battalion detached from the camp attacking in flank the body through which he was endeavouring to force his way. The united corps were enabled to make successive stands in their retreat, by availing themselves of the peculiar nature of the ground, which consisted of a congeries of granite rocks or stones of unequal heights and dimensions, from six to sixteen feet in diameter, scattered, like "the fragments of an earlier world," at irregular intervals over the whole plain, which prevented the possibility of a regular extension of a line on either side; these rocks, or masses of rocks, were contested like petty forts. In spite of the spirit and skill displayed by the English, the enemy's immense superiority in numbers not only acted against the retreating body in front, but pressed on the flank and rear of the European reserve. "Every where," observes Colonel Wilks, "the tendency was retrograde, and the countenance desponding; nothing seemed to remain, but the early and too tragic close of such a scene; when the whole was saved by one of those happy expedients which bring the knowledge of human nature into the ranks of human destruction, and exemplify the proud ascendancy of mind.

"Captain Brooke had received a severe contusion in the escalade of the preceding night; † four companies of his battalion formed the baggage-guard in the lower fort, and the sick, wounded, and followers, had of course been sent to the same protection. He saw the impending peril; the enemy was too much occupied to attend to an insignificant baggage-guard; he collected the whole of his little garrison, with every sick and wounded man who was able to crawl; two guns, which had been thrown into the place, were dragged by volunteer followers, and manned by wounded artillerymen; and with this crippled equipment he moved, by a concealed but circuitous route, to the summit of a flat rock, which he had marked as the scene of his operation; his two guns with grape opened with the utmost vivacity on the thickest and most formidable mass of the enemy's left flank, every voice which accompanied him exclaiming, at the same instant, "huzza, huzza! Smith, Smith.

* Vol II., pp. 83-86.

† He was also wounded with a pike in his lip, chin and collar bone.

The cry of Smith was murmured through the masses of the enemy, and re-echoed with exultation from the English ranks: friends and enemies believed that his division had arrived; order and energy revived together; regulated movements ensued: and in a few minutes, the hordes, which had pressed forward with impatience on their destined victims, were, by a spell more potent than the force of magic, driven onwards in every direction, excepting that of the supposed Smith. Colonel Wood, on discovering the stratagem to which he was indebted, availed himself of the respite thus acquired, to assume a more regular disposition: the oblong hill, which has been described, formed the centre of the new position, and the remainder of the force was disposed, in connection with it, in such a manner as to give entire confidence to the troops, the slope of the hill towards the enemy, which was tolerably free from stones, being the most accessible part of the position. Hyder was not slow in discovering the error, which had rescued the English from his grasp, and returned with indignation to resume the attack, the whole of his cannon, including those captured in the early part of the day, were brought to bear upon the position; and he even made the desperate attempt to charge up the hill with his cavalry, but the day closed upon these ineffectual efforts, and left Colonel Wood in possession of the field of battle.*

A report of this affair was despatched to Colonel Smith, at Colar, who immediately joined Colonel Wood's division; and, to denote the sense he entertained of the fertile mind and gallantry of Captain Brooke, Colonel Smith presented his sword to this officer in front of the army. The Bengal Government, as a mark of its special approbation, gave Mr. Brooke (December 1767) his Captain's commission, although there was then no vacancy.

The Government of Madras having made advances for an accommodation soon after this, Captain Brooke was despatched as envoy to Hyder Ali, but the terms of which he was the bearer were rejected by Hyder. The Madras Government expressed great satisfaction at Captain Brooke's different negotiations with that Prince, which are detailed in Colonel Wilks' History.*

After the recommencement of hostilities, Captain Brooke defended Cuddalore against Hyder, who encamped round the town for several days with his whole force.

The sense which the Government at home entertained of the services of the services of Captain Brooke is evinced in their letter to Bengal, dated 10th April 1771, wherein they speak in high terms of his "very gallant conduct," and direct the Bengal Government to signify their approbation to him, and "to embrace every opportunity of yielding him such advantageous marks of favour as the rules of the service can possibly entitle him to."

* Vol. II, pp. 115-118.

When in command of the two battalions lent as guards to the Mogul, he subdued the refractory zemindars. In the Corah province, where he commanded, he defeated a great rebellion, whilst in command of the united forces of the King, the Company, and the vizier, stationed on the frontiers to resist the Mahrattas. When the King seceded, Captain Brooke raised and disciplined the Bengal Light Infantry, with which he subdued the hill robbers and petty Rajas, who had united at the back of the provinces, and carried their depredations to the vicinity of Moughyr and Rajmahal. By a forced march he prevented the fakeers from plundering Purneah. In the latter part of the Rohillah war he was in command of the vizier's troops, officered by the English; and at the peace, in 1775, his health having been greatly impaired by hard service, he left India.

Captain Brooke returned to Europe with an easy competency and settled in the country of his birth. He embarked his fortune, with philanthropic rather than mercantile views, in the establishment of a cotton manufactory, upon an extensive scale, in the county of Kildare, his objects being to afford employment to persons of all ages, in order that they might obtain the means of support, and of giving their children a moral and religious education. To his genuine patriotism, in this undertaking, the records of the Irish Parliament bear ample and honourable testimony. But the means of Captain Brooke were not co-extensive with the benevolent views; through want of capital and other causes, the project failed, and Captain Brooke lost his entire fortune by an act which exalted his character for integrity and philanthropy.

He now petitioned the Company for leave to return with his rank to Bengal; but his request could not be complied with consistently with the rules of the service, owing to the length of time he had been absent. The Government of St. Helena happening then to become vacant, the Court without hesitation conferred it upon Mr. Brooke.

The services which he rendered in the capacity of Governor of St. Helena were important. Previous to his arrival the slaves on the island were at the mercy of their proprietors, except as to life and limb; and though to their credit, this large authority was in most cases tempered with humanity, the sound axiom that, where uncontrolled power is given by one class of men over another, it is liable, if not sure, to tend to tyranny, influenced Governor Brooke and induced him to obtain from the East India Company the enactment of a code of laws, which, whilst they limited the power of masters on the one hand, effectually secured their just rights on the other, and rendered magistrates the umpires between both parties, as has been recently done in the West Indies. Where the system of slavery had long been in existence, such an innovation, at that time, could not be expected to be popular; but the tone of public opinion soon harmonized with the humane

sentiments of their philanthropic Governor, and, fostered by a congenial character, Governor Walker, the slaver-owners of St. Helena even outstripped the views of their first reformer, and slavery has been for some time extinguished at St. Helena.

Amongst the other humane and judicious measures of Governor Brooke, may be enumerated the substitution of labour for flogging in the garrison; the skilful defences and military arrangements whereby he secured the island from external attack; the establishment of a code of signals for the island; the conveyance of a current of water to the valuable lands of Longwood and Deadwood, a tract of 1,500 acres of good ground previously destitute of water; and the construction of a new landing-place, with crane, stairs, reservoir and moorings for boats, a measure which has saved not only time and money, but the lives of seamen.

In 1791 he was directed to draft 100 men (Europeans) of the garrison to Madras, as a reinforcement, in the arduous contest with Tippoo Sultan. Governor Brooke, however, judging from the straits to which the Madras Government must be reduced that 300 men would be more acceptable than 100, and calculating, from the state of politics in Europe, that there was but little apprehension of an attack on St. Helena, prevailed upon the Council to send 300 picked soldiers, well seasoned in that medium climate. The Court of Directors not only approved of this measure, as a very reasonable one, but signified its "high sense of the zeal he had, in this instance, manifested for the Company's interest." During the course of Governor Brooke's administration upwards of 1,200 men were forwarded from St. Helena to India.

In May 1795 his Majesty's ship *Sceptre* arrived at St. Helena, as convoy to a homeward-bound fleet, and brought intelligence that Holland had been overrun by the armies of France and that the Dutch would be compelled to join in the war against England. The quick-sighted mind of Governor Brooke instantly conceived a project of striking a sudden blow, to secure the Cape of Good Hope before this information should reach that Colony. The result is detailed in the History of St. Helena.*

Shortly after his appointment to St. Helena, the Court of Directors conferred upon Mr. Brooke a commission of Lieutenant-Colonel, and subsequently of Colonel, antedated, so as to correspond with the rank he would have held in Bengal, had he been permitted to rejoin that establishment.

After holding the Government of this island during a period of fourteen years, a severe illness obliged Colonel Brooke to return to Europe. He embarked in March 1801, and took up his residence in Bath, where he died in January 1811.

* Brooke's *History of St. Helena*, pp. 304-15, Second Edition.

The Chandernagore Papers.

SELECTION NO. V.

153.

1778. O.C. 10th August No. 3.

CHANDERNAGORE :

3rd August 1778

GENTLEMEN,

In consequence of your letter of the 29th July, wherein you acknowledge the receipt of mine of the 17th, 23th and 24th, I shall deliver to Mr. Collings, your Commissary, a copy of the names of the persons heretofore employed by His Most Christian Majesty, as also the amount of their appointments attested by me. Mr. Collings will probably give you an account of them.

With respect to what you inform me as to my return to Europe, I accept your proposal with pleasure; but, Gentlemen, I wish you would be pleased to give orders to Madras for embarking for Europe by the first convenient opportunity; my intention being immediately on my arrival at Fort St. George to go to Pondicherry to attend to my affairs, with the permission of the Governor of Madras, but to return to Madras to embark by the first opportunity without which I could not go to Pondicherry becoming there an useless member, as I am your prisoner. I shall await your answer on this subject, and on the receipt of your order I shall come down with my effects, either to Calcutta, or to wherever else you may please to indicate, for my embarkation with my effects, and shall only request, Gentlemen, that you would be pleased to let me have the order for my proposal some days before hand.

I am also to ask you, Gentlemen, for the same passage for Mr. Stourd Strodie, my secretary, and for my servants, whom I brought from Europe,—one married Louis Pitubet, a free negro, who has been a long time in my service, and Michael Thomas Oslane.

I have, etc.,
HOCQUART.

154.

1778. O. C. 10th August No. 5.

FORT WILLIAM :

10th August 1778.

To J. M. H. HOCQUART, Esq.

SIR,

We have received your letters under date the 3rd and 9th instant.

We should have no objection to grant you a passage to Europe by the *Eagle*, if that vessel was capable of affording you any accommodation, but she is very small, and has been already taken up by two gentlemen, who are going home as passengers on board of her.

We readily assent to your taking a passage for yourself and the other gentlemen whom you have mentioned by any of the vessels which may sail from this port either to Fort St.

George or Europe, but it is not in our power to order you a passage by any of the ships which are at ——— and immediately under the authority of any other Presidency.

We have, etc.

[GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COUNCIL.]

(A draft.)

155.

1778. O. C. 17th August No. 39.

FORT WILLIAM:
17th August 1778.

To J. M. H. HOCQUART, ESQ.

SIR,

We are favoured with your letter of this instant, and enclosed have the pleasure to send you a permit to Captain Baisé to receive you on board the *Rechford*, and accommodate you with a passage to Fort St. George, when the ship will be entirely at the disposal of the Council of that place, who may add their license for you to proceed to Europe.

We are, etc.,

[GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COUNCIL.]

(Draft.)

156.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL, AND OTHER
MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL.

1778.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

I have the honor of your orders signified to me, by your Secretary's letter of the 2nd instant. The French Pilots are not yet arrived, when they do I shall Punctually attend to your orders regarding them.

I have published to the Subjects of France now residing at Chandernagore on their parole, that they are required to leave the Provinces before the 1st Day of December next. have been applied to by several Individuals to know to what place they are to retire, and Canal ships will be allowed them to transport them and their families.

I request the honor of your Commands on this Subject, and the greatest respect, etc.

P. GRANT, CAPT.

Commanding.

157.

1778. O. C. 17th August No. 41.

CALCUTTA:
11th August 1778.

SIR,

Permit me to claim your humanity in favour of the unhappy French Pilots of the Ganges. We are actually suffering in prison, and have been ever since the capture of the King's Pilot Boat *L'Orient*, which I commanded as Chief Pilot of the nation. Almost all of us established at Chandernagore. We ask permission of you, Sir, to return to our families, and

to live there on our parole of honour, as you have been pleased to permit the other inhabitants of that colony, taken without defence as they were, we think we have the same rights to your kindness. Our families will be the securities for our conduct, and we shall be all our lives with as much respect as gratitude.

Yours etc.,
 PUGET, CHIEF PILOT.
 J. LEROY, PILOT.
 CHENNEAU, 2ND PILOT.

158.

1778. O. C. 17th August No. 41.

Weds. 13th August 1778.

TO THE SECRETARY.

SIR,

A decent person appeared before me this morning on behalf of the French Pilots now in confinement, offering in the name of the principal Pilot good and creditable security besides his parole; if he might be discharged. I submit to the Board whether on such conditions the Pilots may not each of them be released. Be pleased to send this round to ye members of ye Bd., and with it a letter addressed to me by the prisoners in question.

I am etc.,
 WARREN HASTINGS.

I think their confinement should be made as easy as possible but I am against their being enlarged.

P. F.

I have objection to the Pilots being restricted to the precincts of Chandernagore and to allow them to live with their families.

R. B.

I am for detaining the French Pilots.

E. W.

159.

1778. O. C. 7th Dec. No. 4.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,
 GOVERNOR-GENERAL, AND MEMBER OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL.

CHANDERNAGORE
 Decr. 4th, 1778.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

I had the honour to receive the Resolution of the Board the 16th Ultimo respecting the inhabitants of Chandernagore, in a letter from your Secretary of the same date, and immediately published them in the town.

Two of the Pilots confined here, Cheneaux and Le Roy, have represented to me, that they are desirous of remaining in the Country, but being deprived of the liberty of going below Calcutta, and having no other means of subsistence, except going to sea; they are by that Restriction debarred every opportunity of exerting their own Industry to acquire a livelihood, and therefore hope you will be pleased to continue their subsistence, in

which case they will take the oath of allegiance to his Britannick Majesty under the required Restriction, and give every other Security that may be demanded for their faithful and Regular behaviour. I enclose an address from them to the Honble Board. I request the favor of your Commands regarding them, and have the Honor to be, with the greatest Respect, etc.

P. GRANT, CAPTAIN,
Commanding.

160.

1778. O. C. 7th Dec. No. 5.

CHANDERNAGORE,
3 Dec. 1778.

GENTLEMEN,

The Pilots detained at Chandernagore having received the decision of the Supreme Council permitting them to remain in this country under the oath of allegiance with the restriction of not passing Calcutta, you must know, Gentlemen, that the Petitioners having no other mode of life than the seafaring one, that they have no fortune, and being settled in this country, where they desire to stay, they request that their subsistence money may be continued to them, as being deprived of the means which subsisted them.

We have, etc.,
(Signed) CHENEAUX,
Lt. ROY.

161.

1779. O. C. 14th January. No. 10.

TO J. P. AUBIOL, Esq.,
SECRETARY TO THE COUNCIL.

CHANDERNAGORE,
Jan. 12, 1779.

SIR,

I some time ago did myself the honor to transmit you a letter from the Pilots under confinement, here, in which they decline taking service under the Master attendant in Calcutta, but request the Board would indulge them with their present subsistence, in which case they would enter into any engagement required of them not to pass such bounds as might be prescribed them. They have this morning agreed to confine to the orders of the Board of the 16th November, & have requested that the oath may be administered to them, that they may be released from prison. I therefore take the liberty to request you will promise me orders of the Board regarding them & the form of the oath should the Board agree to their being released.

I have, etc.,
P. GRANT.

162.

Extract of the Proceedings of the Board of Trade Dated the 18th September 1778.
Mr. Draz, delivers in the following Minutes:—

Mr. Draz beg leave to trouble the Board with the following minute on a subject which his absence from the Presidency prevented his representing before. Previous to the

accounts which arrived here of the probability of a war with the French nation, Monsr. Chevalier, the Governor of Chandernagore, applied to the General Council for an Order for the delivery of 15,000 mounds of salt-petre to his agent at Patna that being the quantity annually given to the French at the rate of 3½ Ely Rupees P. Maund and the General Council referred Monsr. Chevalier's application to this Board, who accordingly issued an order to Mr. Bentley, Chief of Patna, on the 29th April last, for the delivery of the said salt-petre to the French Agent. Upon Monsr. Chevalier's receiving the order being for several years past considerably indebted to me he offered the said salt-petre at a stated price to me in liquidation of part of his debt, and accordingly gave me a writing which I now submit to the Board's perusal transferring the said salt-petre to me and assigning over to me the sole property in the said salt-petre, which writing as the Board will observe was dated the 14th June last, but thro' a want of funds to Mr. Chevalier for Payment of the amount of the said salt-petre at Patna, it was not delivered to him in the due time it was expected. I now entreat the Board will permit me to receive the said salt-petre from Mr. Bentley at the rate of three Rupees and a half Ely p maund according to the transfer made over to me of it on the 14th June last by which means I shall be able to recover a part of the heavy loss I sustain from Monsr. Chevalier's being now rendered unable to pay the money he owes me. In order to shew the propriety of my accepting this tender of Mr. Chevalier's in liquidation of my debt I beg leave to acquaint the Board that it was the only probable security Mr. Chevalier could offer to me having previously rendered to me several goods in his Warehouse which would bear no value in proportion to the price he set on them and which were not at all in demand here. Should, the Board in the present critical situation of affairs between the two Nations, think it advisable to consult the Governor-General and Council on the legality of my Claim, I request it may accordingly be referred for their Opinion, and I flatter myself concurrence in the measure.

(Signed) SIMÉON DROZ.

Je soussigné autorise Mr. Siméon Droz de Calcutta à recevoir en son Nom propre et comme Sa propriété la quantité de dix huit Mille Mands de Salpêtre qui ont été accordés pour la portion des François de cette Année, par le Conseil Suprême de Calcutta et qui suivant Son ordre doit être . . . par la . . . à Patna, laquelle quantité de dix huit mille Mands de Salpêtre, Je déclare avoir rendus et transportés au Mr. Siméon Droz au prix de Six Roupies arcaïtes et demi le Mand livrable à Calcutta les risques de la Rivière et les frais pour mon Compte, en deduction de la Somme dont Je lui Suis redevable pour la Balance du Compte arrêté entre nous—

Fait à Guray Le 14 Juin 1778.

(Signé) CHEVALIER.

163.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

GOVERNOR-GENERAL, ETC., COUNCIL OF FORT WILLIA

CALCUTTA

11th September 1778.

GENTLEMEN,

As a reference has been made from the Board of Trade to your Council, relative to a request of mine for the delivery of 15,000 Mounds of Salt-petre, which had been made over to me by the Governor of Chandernagore, in part payment of a Debt, at the rate

of $3\frac{1}{2}$ Ely Rupees P. Maund, previous to the Commencement of Hostilities with the French Nation in Bengal. I beg leave to point out to you every particular relative to this Transaction, in order to convince my Hon'ble Master at home & you, their representatives, here that I was in no respect Concerned in any illicit Trade with the French, or dealings contrary to the spirit of the Company's orders, and the Duty I owe them as one their Servants.

In the year 1772 having occasion to remit a large Sum of money to Europe, not for my own Ease, and Convenience, or as a part of my private fortune, but for the purpose of doing honor to some Engagements I was under to a few Gentlemen in England, and not being able to get any Bills in Calcutta I procured two Sets from Mr. Chevalier at Chandernagore on Messrs. Gregory and Sumner in London for upwards of Six Thousand Pounds, and bearing an Interest of 5 P. Cent. if not discharged in due time.

From the year 1772 to the End of the year 1777 I received repeated advices from my attornies in England that these Bills were not paid, and about the End of 1777, they came back to me protested; upon which I applied to Mr. Chevalier for payment here, and after adjusting the Account between us, he allowing me this Country Interest at the rate of 10 P. Cent., he gave me a Set of Bills on Monsr. Lefer, the Captain of the Ship *Laurestan*, for the Balance amounting to upwards of One Lac of Current Rupees, payable at Bombay where the Ship was Expected on her return from China. These last mention'd Bills I accordingly sent to Messrs. Carnac and Scott, my agents at Bombay, but about the latter End of March last Mr. Chevalier informed me by Letter "that he had just received advice of the Ship *Laurestan's* Destination being changed by the Captain, consequently She would not touch at all at Bombay, but that he would pay the amount of the Bills to me in Bengal." From that time to the month of April several offers were made me of different goods in part payment of the money due to me, but the actual Value of them falling far short of the rate he estimated them at, and they being in little no demand here, I could not accept them.

In the month of April, I believe, Monsr. Chevalier applied to your Council for an order for the delivery of the usual Quantity of Salt-petre annually allow'd to the French, being 18,000 Maunds at $3\frac{1}{2}$ Ely Rupees P. Maund. His application you referred to the Board of Trade—who actually furnish'd him with an order on Mr. Charles Bentley, Commercial Chief at Patna, for the delivery of the said Salt-petre on the 29th April last.

Mr. Chevalier, after obtaining this order, made me a tender of the Salt-petre at the rate of six and a half Arcot Rupees P. Maund, and judging it the best Security I could receive for a part of my money, I agreed to take it off his Hands at that rate,—He accordingly gave me a writing dated the 14th June last assigning over to me the said Salt-petre at the rate of Six Arcot Rupees and a half P. Maund, and giving me the sole property in the said Salt-petre, in liquidation, & part payment of his Debt to me, as is expressed in the Deed of Transfer. Accordingly I expected advice of the arrival of this Salt-petre daily; but in a month after this Transaction while Mr. Chevalier was preparing the money to pay for this Salt-petre at Patna the Troubles broke out, and he absconded; and about the same time Business obliged me to leave the Presidency for a few weeks. Immediately on my return, finding the Salt-petre which was transferred over to me had not yet been cleared out at Patna, I represented the Case, in a minute, to the Board of Trade and laid before them Mr. Chevalier's assignment of this Salt-petre to me, requesting as the Case was render'd rather critical by the present Situation of affairs, that they would submit it to your consideration for your assent to the measure of giving over this Salt-petre to me, if you judged it equitable.

The foregoing Paragraphs, Gentlemen, contain all the circumstances that regard this affair, and I will, with the greatest pleasure, submit to your Inspection any Vouchers in my possession, which you may think proper to call for, in support of what I have asserted.

And now, Gentlemen, I appeal to your Candor & Justice for the preservation of so large a part of my property which must be lost if you do not allow me to benefit by the only possible Security I could obtain for it, and which was granted at a time when no Idea of a Rupture with France had transpired, & Consequently when Mr. Chevalier was at full Liberty to offer me such Security.

If you are Convinced by these arguments that I have a just and legal Title to the Salt-petre thus assign'd over to me and will signify the same to the Board of Trade, in your reply to their Letter on the subject, You will Confer a lasting Obligation on me.

I am, Gentlemen,
with great respect,
Your most Devoted & most Obed. humble Servt.
SIMSON DROZ.

164.

O THE BOARD OF TRADE.

FORT WILLIAM,
29th September 1778.

GENTLEMEN,

We have received your letters of the 18th September.

Being satisfied from the copy of the Instrument under the signature of Mr. Chevalier which you have laid before us that the proportion of Salt-petre allotted to the French was fairly & actually made over to Mr. Droz before the news of war arrived we consent to its being delivered to him on his paying the price which would have been paid by Mr. Chevalier.

In consequence of your application for Mr. Higginson to fill the Seat at your Board which is become vacant by the death of Mr. Stewart we have summon'd him from Burdwan to attend you for that purpose.

We have fixed the 22nd of Novr. next for the dispatch of the *Osterley & Grosvenor* to England & we propose to order the *Northington* to sail in Company with them.

The ships *Mount Stewart* *Godfrey* & *Shrewsbury* being arrived we request that you will inform us how soon they may be completely laden as we wish if possible to appoint an early day in Jan'y. for their departure.

We are etc.
[GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND COUNCIL.]

165.

Chandernagore
1778.

List of Persons of the first rank who desire to go to Mauritius on the Cartel Ship granted by the Supreme Council of Calcutta on the 16th November last and who have waited on Mr. Descorches de St. Croix for this effect.

		Namely			
		(Total in original).		Black Servants.	
Royal Administration.	{	Descorches de St. Croix, Ordonnator & President of the Council		...	...
		Millard, Warehouse keeper, a Councillor & his wife...		...	...
		Doyen intended for King's Attorney General & his wife		...	...
		Treillard de La Rolandiere in the service		...	...
		De Beaufort, Master of the Roads		...	...
		Lancy, Physician		...	...
			
		8 Persons			
INHABITANTS.					
Persons to pass immediately to Europe.	{	De Breau, Esq., and his wife		...	...
		Mde. Carvalho and her two children		...	...
		Le Sage, late in the Company's Service		...	...
		Jannet Moncleron		...	...
		Meguet		...	...
		Ferquet		...	...
		Vialard		...	...
		Francis Bachelor		...	...
		Pellegren de St. Relas formerly in the King's Service at Mauritius		...	...
		OFFICERS OF MERCHANT SHIPS.			
		Charles Gervais De la Butte		}	3
		Freron late Company's Officer			
		Gervais De la Butte, his Son			
		Charles Louis Des Colzy, Captain		}	2
De Verrien					
Claud Nepvece, Captain					
De Reniers					
Vergois					
Casenove					
Tardives					
Fouilleul					
Joseph Allez, Surgeon		...	...
			
31 Persons					
		34 Servants.			

(Signed) DESCORCHES DE ST. CROIX.

166

CHANDERNAGORE:

29th December 1778.

Chandernagore.

1778.

List of Persons who require to go to the Isle of France on the Carrel Ship granted by the Supreme Council of Calcutta on the 16th November 1778, who have presented themselves for that Purpose, and who are not entitled, some from their conduct and others from their condition, to be at the Table.

		Namely			
2nd Class	...	Morreau in the King's Service		Servants	
Drunkards and debauched to an Excess.		Jean Marie de Kergus	... Sailor		
		Pierre Requier de Kergus	... Do.		
		Desjeux	... Do.		
		Le Herre du Lanzaay	... Do.		
		Le Guay	... Do.		
2nd Class		Gautier	... Do.		
		Rene Fouquet, Volunteer	... Do.		
		Anteoni Da Laselle	... Do.		
		Nicolas Frucheteau	... Do.		
		Michel Jean Andriot	... Do.		
		Jean Pierre Giraud Moral	... Do.		
		Jean Denis Emery	... Do.		
		Jean Francois Caveniceville	Do.		
		Eulenne Vasse	... Do.		
		Pierre Le Sellier	... Sailor		
3rd Class		Pierre Guind. Ben Behotut Audriop	do.		
		Gossit, Inhabitant of Coosim bazar	do.		
		Honore Martin, Sergeant of the Regiment of Pondicherry Sibeuf formerly Iankeeper	... do.	...	1
		Julien Dattie, Cook	... do.	...	1
		Pierre Gouello, Gunner			
		24 Persons		3 Servants	

SOLDIERS

4th Class found
drowned in tank
on the 21st De-
cember.

Pierre Brandy, a Private of the Regiment of Pondy.
Charles Pertuis do do
Michel Tourny of St. Malo, a Sailor of the Prevost wounded in a
salute given to Mr. Loequart and lamed for life.

(Signed) DESCORCHES DE ST. CROIX

CHANDERNAGORE:

29th December 1778.

1662.

21th April 1779.

TO THE HONORABLE WARREN HASTINGS, GOVERNOR-GENERAL &
PRESIDENT, AND GENTLEMEN MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME
COUNCIL OF BENGAL, &c., &c.

CHANDERNAGORE.

The 15th April 1779.

The humble petition of Augustin Audant.

GENTLEMEN,

After so many marks of your Goodnesses & Clemency towards me, I dare hope of your
indefatigable and undefeasible kindnesses, that you will be good enough as to empower me

to Get again my post of *joint-zemindar*, the which I have exercised for this five or six years past until the surrendring of the town, Being the only employ in which I Can Render Service to your honorable Company and to the poor Black people, who are every day and every minute abused by the false reports of the head Sircars made to the first zemindar in bad portuguese, he the sayd Zemindar and many such other as him, being not learned in the Country languages and are by this means in the way of being imposed on every day their own people, and as your petitioner humbly presumes himself qualified and pretty well versed in all the black tongues of the Country and knowing also a little of the English Tongue, he may strive to second and support the black people in their Good Causes without or at least with very little assistance of the Sircars whatsoever, but you will say, that it was in my power to keep my post till now, since you were pleased to make me a tender of it directed to me by Lieutenant-Colonel Dow the 10th August '78, this is true, but you know very well, Gentlemen, that at that time I owed some Regard and Consideration to the Commands of Mr. Chevalier my last Governor, who forbid me to act in this station on pain of his displeasure, and besides the advices of many other Gentlemen; but now since that you have Granted me to remain in Bengal, and now seeing myself as an inhabitant under the protection of the honorable East India Company, and having taken the oath of allegiance to his Britanick majesty, I hope that you will be kind enough as to take it into your Consideration as to allow me the Continuation of my post of joint-Zemindar, with the Salaries you may judge proper to me in that place, as being the only way and Shifts remaining to me in my present distress of money and Employment to Get honorably my living.

I am with the most profound respect
Gentlemen

Your most humble most
Obedient & most devoted Servant
AUSSANT.

167.

The 18th January 1781.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA AND
THE MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM
BARRABATTY ENGLISH FACTORY AT BALASORE.

The Humble Petition of John Nicholas Mutez,
Inhabitant of the Barrabatty English Factory at
Balasore.

SHEWETH,

That your Petitioner as soon he was informed of the General Order from the Hon'ble Board relative to the French He requested the licence to stay at Balasore from the Hon'ble Governor-General, but his request being not complied with He received an Order from the said Governor-General to quit immediately Balasore and repair to Calcutta and Your Petitioner willing not to be suspected that He lives at Balasore to form Plots mischief against the English Nation, take this method to inform the Hon'ble that He intend to quite this place in a few days in order to repair at Calcutta to attend their further Commands.

That Your Petitioner in the Interim represents most Humbly to The Hon'ble Board that He was never in Bengal in the French Service Since 1772 is under the English Flag and

by that means thinking himself secure of his Person, Family and Effects and more so being at Balasore out of the Provinces the Limits going no far then Jalesore and he was not Prisoner of war. Your Petitioner, by his obedience to the order of the Hon'ble Board, is in great hopes if They will oblige him to quit the Provinces The Hon'ble Board will take into consideration the maintenance of the Wife and Daughter of Your Petitioner who He shall be forced to left behind him without any sort of succour or maintenance.

And Your Petitioner (Shall as his duty oblige him) Ever Pray etc.

J. N. MUTEJ.

165.

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.
GOVERNOR-GENERAL FOR HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY AND MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME
COUNCIL, CALCUTTA

CHANDERNAGORE,
23th January 1781.

GENTLEMEN,

My situation as a private person or Inhabitant in this country for 14 years secures me against the prosecutions with which we are threatened in the last Orders of the Supreme Council. My imprisonment appears to me of a nature to require representation, and being heard, ought to produce every effect that I hope for from the justice of my cause.

Free from all engagements in business by Land or Sea, by which I could be suspected of any thing relating to Politics; I lay before you my right to the liberty which I implore as an individual and master of my own actions, and after having solicited your kindness, you will have the goodness to grant me the privilege enjoyed by many people who cannot certainly produce any other claim to your favor.

I am with the greatest respect,

Gentlemen,

Your most humble and obedient Servant

(Signed) JOSEPH RIO.

A True translation

J. L. A.

166.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL, &C., COUNCIL AT
FORT WILLIAM IN BENGALE.

The Humble Petition of
Jean Nicolas Arrazat.

Calcutta, 22nd March 1781.

MOST HUMELY SHEWETH,

That your Petitioner is a native of France; and arriving in Bengal in the year 1758 has ever since fixed his residence at Chandernagore, on the taking of which Place in July 1758, Your Petitioner was made a Prisoner of war, but left at large upon signing his Parole of Honour and afterwards permitted to remain so on taking the Oath of Allegiance to his Britannic Majesty before the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Hyde. That finding himself included

in the number of those of his nation who are ordered to remain* [in Bengalias] prisoners. Your Petitioner humbly begs leave to lay before Your Hon'ble Board the Conduct he observed during the last war towards such of His Britannic Majesty's Subjects as the chance of War had thrown into his Power and which he humbly hopes will upon the present Emergency plead strongly in his favour.

Your Petitioner commanding a Merchant man called the *Courteille* from Nantes in France, armed with 20 guns and 108 men, and bound with a rich Cargo for Cap. Francois in the Island of St. Domingo. Your Petitioner was on the 16th of May 1778 met by the *Britannia Privateer* of 28 guns and 270 men commanded by Captain John Macpherson who attacked Your Petitioner towards seven o'clock in the morning. Having fought till half past ten in the forenoon without any considerable advantage on either side, the said Captain Macpherson summoned Your Petitioner with opprobrious Languages to strike, which having refused the said Captain Macpherson told Your Petitioner that he would give no quarter, and immediately hoisted the Bloody Flag saying he would soon reduce Your Petitioner. The Engagement continued at the Distance of a Pistol shot till half past two in the afternoon when the said Captain Macpherson was compelled to strike and surrender himself and crew Prisoners of War to Your Petitioner. It was then in the Power of Your Petitioner to have used Captain Macpherson and his crew with severity as had threatened to do by Your Petitioner, but the Humanity which Your Petitioner has always professed induced him to forget the Misconduct of Captain Macpherson, whom Your Petitioner did not even keep a Prisoner on Board his own Ship, as in that case Your Petitioner would have been under the necessity of delivering him up to the Judges of the French Court of Admiralty when his Life and the Lives of part of his Crew would have been for . . . all the Crew Your Petitioner was to order his own Surgeon to make a Second Amputation of Captain Macpherson's right Arm which had been carried off by a shot in the Engagement and the first Operation very unskillfully performed by the English Surgeon. Your Petitioner kept the said Captain Macpherson on board the French Ship which he commanded for 24 hours only and then sent him to Jamaica with the greatest part of his Crew, where he landed the last of the same month, Month of May. The Governor of Jamaica having soon after sent a Cartell Ship to Cap. Francois ordered an English Officer of Infantry, who was on board the Cartell Ship to visit Your Petitioner on his Behalf and to return him Thanks for his humane and honourable Behaviour toward Captain Macpherson and the other Prisoners as well as for the attention of Your Petitioner in Supplying the wounded with Medecines and Attendance and the Officer at the same time delivered Your Petitioner a Letter of Protection from the Governor of Jamaica in Case he should happen to be taken in the war. That this fact is within knowledge of Mr. Richard Tilghman,^a Gentleman lately returned to Europe, who was at Jamaica when Captain Macpherson and his Crew arrived there, and has mentioned it here to several Gentlemen, and among others to Messrs. Newman and Shore.

That Your Petitioner is far advanced in his Life, being near Sixty Years of Age, and the situation of his affairs such, as to require for the transacting and settling them his personal attendance from Time to Time as well at Chandernagore as at Calcutta, in Default whereof his Ruin must inevitably ensue.

Your Petitioner therefore, in humble hopes that the above Recital joined to his advanced Age will have some Weight in his Favour Most

^a *Vide* *Burrard's Echoes from Old Calcutta.*

humbly prays, that it may please Your Hon'ble Board to shew him the same Indulgence as has been granted to Messrs. Nicolas, Bretel, Panon, Brew, Desgranges, Chambon and Mill, and permit him to reside at large either at Chandernagore or Calcutta upon that Terms of the Oath of Allegiance taken, with Liberty to repair from one Place to the other, when his Business and Concerns shall render it necessary.

And Your Petitioner as in Duty
bound shall ever pray &c.

J. N. ARREAU.

(Torn in Original.)

170.

1st April 1781.

SIR,

I beg leave to represent to you that on my arrival at Calcutta in Company with a Serjeant of the Battalion of Chittagong, I put into your hands a Petition dated 14th March that you might deliver it to the Supreme Council of Calcutta; It represented that since the year 1773 I was an inhabitant under the British Dominion, having always traded on my own account; my misfortunes have reduced me to the greatest distress, confined in a Goal, absent from my Protectors, I call on your Charity and your feelings grounded on Humanity, I intreat you to procure me my Liberty on the condition that I shall take Arms as an English Inhabitant.

Pardon, Sir, my being so importune to you, Messrs. Hillon and Echand are gone out of the Goal yesterday upon a Representation that they had been a long while under English Flag.

I cannot bear the afflictive Idea of being on the Instant of leaving my Family in the most unfortunate Circumstances. I have taken the Liberty to address you in hopes of obtaining from your Generosity whatever it may suggest to you, and I am with the greatest Respect

Sir &c

(Sd.) J. REPERT.

171.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL &C., COUNCIL.
FORT WILLIAM

Good 2nd June 1781.

HON'BLE SIR & SIRS,

It is the part of a wise man to submit his Complaints before those who are empowered to assist the unfortunate, and particularly when his Right is at stake.

If I had deserved the Rigour with which you have been pleased to use me, by any failure in my Oath or Allegiance as an Inhabitant of Calcutta for eight years past, I should have no Right to claim my Release, in order to enjoy the same Priviledges as the other Inhabitants under your Flag.

Be so good Gentlemen as to suppose yourselves a moment in my Place, your feelings would suffer; you are aware that the greatest Pleasure of a sensible Heart is to assist, an unfortunate man who has been ill since December last, and whose Illness was brought on him by the Loss which he suffered by a Portugues Ship which was burnt. This Circum-

stance, obliged him to go to Chittagong for the Recovery of his Health, and there he was made Prisoner, and sent to the new Goal to Calcutta, as if he had been a French Inhabitant of Chandernagore, and reduced to have a Subsistence of Rs. 18 Annas 8 per Month.

The greater economy and the Benefit of an inconsiderable Trade prevented the urgent necessities and procured a subsistence, to my Family who lived in Calcutta.

In the Hope, Gentlemen, that you will be pleased to take into your serious Consideration my deplorable situation in restoring me my Liberty, I am ready to take the arms for the Defence of your Flag, as Inhabitant, and for the support of my Family who are now deprived of the assistance which I afforded them before.

I have the Honor &c.

(Sd.) J. Reppert.

172.

TO THE HON'BLE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND THE GENTLEMEN MEMBERS OF THE
SUPREME COUNCIL.

THE HUMBLE PETITION OF JOSEPH RIO
PRISONER OF WAR IN THE NEW GOAL.

MOST HUMBLY SHEWETH,

That ever since fifteen years that I am in Bengal my eye-sight is affected to such a degree that I see but with great pains to myself and that I have likewise two unhappy children now in Calcutta those are my Lords the motives on which I trust and the true means that I think proper to implore your Lordships Clemency on my account as I mention nothing but the truth.

I humbly beseech your Lordships to be sensible of my unhappy situation occasioned by my return in Goal on the . . . of the *Neptune*. Deign My Lords not force me to Return to Europe in a Climate Entirely a Stranger . . . having the neither parents nor fortune to live upon, used to this hot Climate ever since so long a time, I look upon it as my native country as having had here two children, I have had likewise some affairs with several of your Lordship's Countrymen which are not at this present time settled.

I dare hope My Lords that your Lordships will be so kind to take my diverser Reasons into your Lordship's considerations and that you will be generous enough to grant me leave to remain in Bengal with my Country men having never failed in any way whatsoever to the oath of allegiance that I gave to his Britanick Majesty and yound Petitioner in duty Bound shall ever pray the Almighty for your Lordships's health and welfare.

I have the honor to be

with great respect

JOSEPH RIO.

Goal-Ca 20. Juillet. 1781.

(Torn in Original.)

173.

1781. O. C. 21st Jan. No. 28.

Statement of subsistence money paid by the former Commissary to the French at Chandernagore and regulated by the quota they respectively received in the French Service.

Messieurs.

Nicolas	...	...	...	...	Rs.	240	0	0
Bretel	...	...	...	...	...	69	7	5
Nicolas de Calnola	...	...	...	...	...	63	8	0
Verlée	...	...	...	...	...	716	6	9
Le Seigneur	...	...	...	...	...	69	7	5
Mireaffry	...	...	...	...	...	55	8	30
De La Cour	...	...	...	...	...	41	10	27
Olivier	...	...	...	...	...	27	12	18
Oussart	...	...	...	...	...	69	7	5
Mille	...	...	...	...	...	111	1	30
Jacque Ploe	...	...	...	...	...	41	10	27
François Dacrux	...	...	...	...	...	34	11	22
Poret	...	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
Charles Dacrux	...	...	...	...	...	25	0	0
La Girofle	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Jacob	...	...	...	...	...	16	10	25
Puget	...	...	...	...	...	50	0	0
Favler	...	...	...	...	...	60	0	0
Chenau	...	...	...	...	...	35	0	0
François Le Roy	...	...	...	...	...	30	0	0
Jean Rodrigues	...	...	...	...	...	25	0	0
Durand	...	...	...	...	...	60	0	9
Sirother	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
Louis Bonnaud	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
Compoint	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
Lehmas	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
De Solminihac	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
Boquet	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
Falrid	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
Fromont	...	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
Joseph Rio	...	...	...	...	...	30	0	0
B. David	...	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Joseph Duplessis	...	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
François Duplessis	...	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
Meanique Vierre	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
Fournier	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
Bedes	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
Padet	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
Hirigayen	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
Pierre Lacroix	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
Gallard	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
Siben	...	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
Lt. Bart	...	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
Versailles	...	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
Kirin Guyen	...	...	...	...	...	20	0	0
Venou	...	...	...	...	...	20	0	0

Messieurs.

Le Goff	...	...	...	...	Rs.	25	0	0
Piscira	...	...	...	...	"	40	0	0
Père Joseph, François	...	...	...	...	"	34	11	22

Total Rs. ... 2,176 1 31

174.

A MONSIEUR WARREN HASTINGS, GOUVERNEUR-GENERAL, ET MESSIEURS LES MEMBRES DU CONSEIL SUPREME DE CALCUTTA.

MESSIEURS,

Arrêté par votre ordre en Juillet 1778, prisonier de guerre, dans un Voyage qui je faisoir a Goulparah proche Assem, je n'ai pu obtenir l'agrement de passer a Courrigan. Liende ma residence pour mettre ordre a mes affaires, que j' ai été obligé de laisser a l'abandon, j' ai en cette qualite été mené a Dacca et ensuite a Chandernagor, ou je suis arrivé le 1^{er} Mars, aussitot mon arrivé je m' adressai a Mr. Collin, Votre Commissair, pour recevoir une subsistance, lequel je n' ai pas obtenu, chose facile a verifier par le's état.

Dénué des ressources que je trouvoir dans Le Commerce, j' ai été obligé d'emprunter de l'Argent pour pouvoir subsister depuis le Moment ou j' ai été arrêté Jusques au Moment que j' ai été mené en prison.

Cette dette est S acrée pour moi ains quelle doit l'estre pour tout estre bien pensant.

Je m' adresse avour Messieurs, pour vous prier de vouloir bien me mettre a monie de m' en acquitor en me faisant payer les Cinquante roupies de Subalstance qu'il vous a plu m' allouer par mois, de puis le 1^{er} Janvier derrier, a partir du mois de Juillet 1778 Jusques au mois de Janvier de Cette année, et par Ce Moyegé pourrai m' acquiter en partie de la dette que j' ai Contracté

Je Suis avec Respect & ca.

Messieurs

Votre tres humble et tres obessant

Serviteur

L. GIBLOT DE JOUY.

CHANDERNAGOR, LE AVRIL 20 1782.

175.

A MONSIEUR WARREN HASTINGS, GOUVERNEUR-GENERAL, ET MESSIEURS LES MEMBRES DU CONSEIL SUPREME DE CALCUTTA.

CHANDERNAGOR

le 19 Aoust 1782.

MESSIEURS,

La position dans la quelle je me Suis trouvé ne m'a pas permis de revenir a Chandernagor avant la premier de ce mois, par les embarras et la gêne dans les quels je me Suis trouvé depuis Vingt mois, et rien n'est plus facile que de les exposer sous vos Yeux.

Depuis le mois de Juin 1779, j'avois établi en Société une raffinerie de sucre à Chandernagor, vos ordres du Mois de Mars et December 1780, m'ont forcé d'en suspendre les travaux, puis que j'en étois seul l'ame, que c'étoit moi qui lui donnois la vie et qu'elle n'alloit que par mes soins. Des raisons relatives à mon associé, me forcèrent, au mois de Février 1781, de faire passer à Srampour les fonds de la dite Manufacture dont le travail étoit absolument suspendu, et je n'hésite point à vous avouer que le peu de fortune que j'avois étoit totalement inglobé dans cette entreprise, s'est trouvé entièrement perdu, ce qui a fait que ce n'est qu'avec peine j'ai pu subsister avec mon Epouse et mon Infant, depuis cet instant, ayant encore à pourvoir à la Subsistance de deux autres enfants que j'ai à l'Isle de France et en Europe.

C'est d'après la grande confiance que j'ai dans votre équité, Messieurs, que j'ai l'honneur de vous prier de vouloir bien M'allouer la Subsistance depuis que vos ordres m'ont forcé à Suspendre la Manufacture que j'avois entreprise, et ont en conséquence causé la perte de ma fortune, n'en ayant point encore reçu jusqu'à ce jour.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec des Sentiments respectueux.

MESSIEURS, Votre très humble & très
obéissant Serviteur
DAVID.

176.

To J. P. AURIOL, Esq., SECRY. TO THE HON'BLE
THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL & COUNCIL, &c

CHANDERNAGORE :
15th April 1783.

SIR,

I am favored with yours of the 14th and agreeable to the Orders of the Hon'ble the Governor-General & Council, have ordered down 30 French prisoners of war, under a Guard to march to the Presidency as the weather is so very tempestuous it is impossible to send them by water. At the same time I am sorry to inform you only part of the number I sent go voluntarily, though a great many offered their services to Government a few days ago. From this sudden change in their resolution I am led to think the French Officers have been conveying to the men a dislike to their going. This I thought proper to mention that you may inform the Hon'ble the Governor-General & Council that if it is their pleasure that only those men should be sent who will go voluntarily, I may countermand the others, & I have sent a hircarrah with this to bring me any Orders which may be immediately necessary as also that you will be pleased to let me know the number of ships about to leave this port, which you have omitted in your letter.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,

Your very obedient humble Servant,
S. H. SHOWERS,
Major Commanding.

177.

J. P. AURIOL, Esq.,

SECRETARY TO THE HON'BLE BOARD,

CHANDERNAGORE.

15th April 1783.

Sir,

I am favoured with your letter of yesterday and agreeable to the Orders of the Hon'ble the Governor-General & Council have acquainted the prisoners. It is not the intention of the Hon'ble Board to compel any of them to embark on board the ships.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

S. H. SHOWERS,

Major Commanding.

178.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, Esq.,

Governor-General & Supreme Council.

CHANDERNAGORE.

The 11th August 1783.

GENTLEMEN.

Pere Cactano Mc. de Ferrare, Italian Capucin Missionary, Superior at Chandernagore & Attorney for the Mission, has the honor to represent to you Gentlemen the extreme misery to which he finds himself reduced as well as the other Missionaries at Chandernagore—

The Gentlemen of the Council at Calcutta had the charity to grant during the former war a subsistence of Rs. 50 p. mth. to the Pere Oauphre. The above have received none since the commencement of the present war; with much difficulty they have procured very slender alms which alms diminish every day whilst their number is increased & their Church & house at Chandernagore are falling in ruins. Before the war they were barely supported by the interest which they received on a small sum that is due to them from the chest for the liquidation of the affairs of the French Company which was paid to them half yearly but have received none since the commencement of the war as will appear from the accompanying certificate of Mr. Nicolas then Chief for the liquidation—in consideration of which the Superior, &c., flatters himself that in consequence of his miserable situation the Gentlemen of the Supreme Council will grant him some relief which shall be acknowledged by all the Missionaries in their devotions & in prayers for the preservation of their healths.

A true Translation,

J. L. AURIOL.

I the underwritten (*F. Nicolas*) heretofore Commissary for the liquidation of the affairs of the French East India Company at Bengal—do certify that the Reverend Capucin Father Italian Missionaries for the Propagation of the Gospel received annually from the Company's chest the sum of current Rupees five hundred and nineteen, one anna, twenty-six Gundas for interest on two different sums due to them on which they have received no interest since the commencement of the war. Given under my hand this tenth day of August 1783 at Chandernagore.

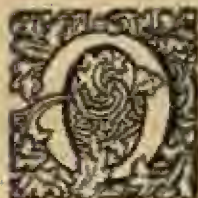
True Translation,

J. L. AURIOL.

SO. F. NICOLAS.

Memoir of Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse.

PART IV.—(Concluded.)



ON the 8th day of February 1785, Mr. Hastings resigned his office of Governor-General, and embarked for England. Mr. Macpherson, as Senior Member of Council, succeeded to the office.

On the 21st of March Colonel Pearse addressed a short letter to Mr. Macpherson, requesting that the accounts of his detachment might be brought to a close, as his state of health made it necessary to contemplate a voyage to sea. This, however, did not appear to be of much avail, for on the 6th of April a long letter was forwarded, of which the following is the first part.

TO THE HON'BLE JOHN MACPHERSON, ESQ.,
GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND SUPREME COUNCIL.

HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

"I have now tried every mode possible to bring my accounts before you, but having been unsuccessful, and unable to bring forward those I sent on the march towards Madras; I take the liberty of laying before you a copy of the whole of the accounts and of the letters of the paragraphs that relate to them, giving information concerning the several articles of expense at the time they were found necessary, together with the causes of the necessity for them."

"The uneasiness these accounts occasioned at the time, is most fully expressed in the several applications I made, stating the necessity of having them passed while the facts to which they relate are recent; but unfortunately for me and others, those applications were not successful, nor do I wonder at it now, that I have been so long in the settlement, and have been unable to find out where the accounts are, or what prevents a settlement of them."

"My original instructions, paragraph 5th, most fully warranted any contingent expenses I might incur; and expresses the Board's reliance on my official exactness; but still the expense was defrayed by me, and I stood liable to be called on for the several sums I received from time to time, and the amount is very considerable. In fact the whole of the cash of the detachment passed through my hands, as it was ordered that I should give receipts, and draw on the Board for cash to supply our wants; and such was the practice until I joined Sir Eyre Coote, when he chose to take this trouble on himself."

"For the further information of the Board I have added an explanation of every item according to the mode I observed, with respect to the expenses during our march back; and I flatter myself the Board will be kind enough to call on me for any further explanation, if any part of the expenses should be found liable to objections; though as I

made it my study to avoid every possible increase of expenditure of cash, I trust there cannot be any of material consequence."

The result of this application was probably favourable to Colonel Pearse's wishes. Amongst the MSS. which have come into our possession, we find no letters which bear date between the 6th of April, 1785, and the 18th of September, 1786—so that a lapse in correspondence occurs of 17 months, or during the whole time of the administration of Mr. Macpherson. In the month of September 1786, Lord Cornwallis arrived and assumed the high and important situation of Governor-General. We may conclude that Colonel Pearse's situation during the interval of Mr. Macpherson's government, was not a very comfortable one to himself; from the following extract of a letter to Mr. Darrel, dated the 18th of September, 1786:

"I commanded the troops to receive Lord Cornwallis; the notice he took of me made me very happy, many very jealous; but the troops were pleased at it, I believe, and the Officers in general, for even the interested parties allow that I have been scandalously treated."

"I have not spoken a word to him (Lord Cornwallis), on any subject but compliment yet; so I cannot say anything, but that he seems to be as noble in disposition as he is in birth—he has proved it by coming alone—all wonder, all admire."

On the 8th November 1786, Colonel Pearse addresses General Pattison as follows:—

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"From what I am unable to judge already, I think the spirit of prophecy is not necessary to enable me to foretell happiness to the settlement, and honour to the nation from the Government of Lord Cornwallis."

"Some of the many dirty jobs of the preceding pair are done away, and more will follow. The change is to me most pleasing I may say most beneficial: for it saves me from the ruin which the others had planned for me, and very nearly executed."

"As yet, I have gained anything more than I had before the new regulations; but all I have I may be said to have gained, because Macpherson and Sloper had reduced me to the necessity of asking for them, by bidding the Commissary General refuse to pass my bills for the allowances which I have received ever since 1773; and I know they would have referred me for an answer to the Court of Directors. Upon the whole, my present prospects are pleasing, and I do really believe if a change for the worse happens under His Lordship, it must be my fault, and therefore I will take the more pains to prevent it. I remember that when His Lordship was first talked of, that my friend Hastings wrote me the report that Lord Cornwallis was to be his successor; and that if he was to quit, that he was glad His Lordship was to be the man; because he knew from his general character, that he was a man of honour, who would make us happy, and the English name respectable."

"Yesterday I had the honour of His Lordship's company at my country house, this made me very happy. Colonel Ross was here also, and he seems to me to be just the man fit to second the views of his principal. We shall be much better acquainted when he has more leisure, but they have had enough to do, though from their mode of doing business their future labours will be considerably less, the plan being to do all current business at it comes. The Secretary of the secret department told me the other day, that business was done to day."

"Mr. Macpherson lately made a most scandalous convention with the French; one part of it really enabled the French to trade in Calcutta above four per cent. cheaper than

the English. The merchants complained, it was laid aside, and his Lordship has given relief to them. This is an act of public notoriety, and therefore may serve as a contrast of the two governments. I do not mean to exaggerate when I say, that Mr. Macpherson's convention made us contemptible in Bengal, and laid the foundation of a power which would shortly have crushed us, and exalted our rivals in our stead. Possibly it has been discussed at home, where, unless the spirit of the nation is quite, it must be reprobated; and ought to entail punishment upon the heads of those concerned in the transaction."

"We are made very happy by hearing that the judicature bill is to be amended. I hope it was done before the petitions arrived, because I do think the petitions would not give reason to do it. You know that the clause that obliged us all to swear to our effects, was all I objected to in it; though that clause must have banished me for ever: for if I had sworn to what I am worth, I should have been deemed perjured, and have exposed my real poverty. However I hope times will mend, so as to remove poverty, that when age comes on, I may be enabled to get a small retreat to shelter me."

"May you enjoy every good the world can afford, and my good friend Mrs. Pattison also; and may I soon be blessed with the sight of you both in health and happiness."

FORT WILLIAM:
14th of November, 1786.

"I am,
My dear General,
Your faithful friend,
T. D. PEARSE."

On the 10th of November Colonel Pearse dated the following letter.

TO MR. HASTINGS.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"Your friends here, and none more than myself, received infinite pleasure from the letter you sent to Larkins to be shewn to us, and the short one which you wrote to Shore just before he sailed. But we long to hear the sequel; we hope that the very first packet will tell us that it is all ended, and to your satisfaction. We did hear by the foreign papers of the 29th of May, that you had again been before the house, but we want to see that noble defence which we have heard so much extolled. I have read Burke as far as he went, and have wondered how a man could seriously exhibit such a mass of nonsense as an accusation against any one! He might as well have charged you with the destruction of the human species in the famine of 1770! But I see from all this that the spirit of party will produce the same effect in an individual, that fanaticism produces in the multitude. Therefore from the effects of this may be Power Divine defend you, which hath so wonderfully enabled you to stand up against the many violent storms which I have seen beating against you! And thanks be to that Power for sending Cornwallis as the time of your return was not arrived. He now, as you did before, dignifies the chair, and fills each heart with gladness. He has raised us again out of the mire of meanness and baseness into which M and S had plunged the English name; and he will preserve Hindoostan to the English, though *sold* by them to the French. This I write as an Englishman, and as an individual I have every reason to rejoice; for, besides the honour his Lordship did me the very day he arrived, he has since redressed the injuries which the others did me, and one of them in particular, before I knew that I had suffered it."

"The grand matter about the command of the provinces I have not mentioned; his Lordship has had enough to do to wade through this mass of corruption in every department

of the State, and has left military business to the last, as being something that wants a radical reform, and leisure to effect it. Macpherson and Stewart stopped me when I wanted to proceed to the field; but I rejoice at it now. Had I been at a distance, his Lordship might have been persuaded that I was what I am not. By their malevolence it happens that I am on the spot to shew his Lordship the worst of myself, and I trust he will find out what I am fit for, if anything, and then I am sure he will employ me, and put me in the way to earn as much honour by his thanks as I received dignity from yours."

"Still, however, I fear the orders from home. I know if ever the Board of Control allow the Directors to appoint a provincial Commander-in-Chief, that there will be a war to rise up to seek for it; reduced gamesters, worn-out skulkers, and the whole list of avaricious, will say, We were above this man—we have been in the service 50 years and this man must be a duce because he is in the artillery. Champion once had the impudence to give an opinion that an Artillery Officer ought not to rise, but that he ought to have the bullock contract as a recompense. Can any recompense repair a wound in a man's honour? or riches supply the loss of honour? Be riches with honour, or honour without riches mine. The latter is mine, for you put me in the road that led to honour: directed by you, I sought and found it: the half is yours, and the other half is mine. 'Tis true you did not need a share of it, so great was your own treasure, but by condescending to take a share, you have eminently enhanced the value of mine."

"Besides the favour I have mentioned to have received from Lord Cornwallis, all which I attribute to you, I am thankful to him for giving me employment, though it is attended with some trouble; I mean the Ordnance branch of the command of the Fort William, which I will have in nice order soon; so that if it be my fate to receive you in it, on some future day, you may enter without fear of defilement."

"I saw Beneram Pundit yesterday, and he was talking of you to me, in that language which shews he remembers you with reverence and real esteem. As we conversed his Lordship came up and joined us, and desired me to tell Beneram, that he was sorry he could not join in the conversation. He has *not much* reverence for Macpherson and Sloper; and he asked me with a sneer of contempt, what the French would do, now that they had lost their friend Macpherson. This is sufficient to shew what the natives think of the convention. Beneram and Tufuzul Ali Khawn have been much slighted by Macpherson, they were too much attached to you to thrive in his reign."

"Do me the favour to present my best respects to Mrs. Hastings, and do favour me with a line when you get clear of Foxes and Pitts, standing firm on the rock of your own integrity, smiling contempt upon those who would have robbed you if they could, mixed with pity for their depravity. May every good be yours!

"FORT WILLIAM:
10th of November 1786."

"I am,
Dear Sir,
Your faithful friend,
T. D. PEARSE."

On the 22nd of November Colonel Pearse had the satisfaction of laying before Lord Cornwallis the plan of Tentage for the Bengal Army, which he had long matured, and had earnestly called the attention of the Commanders-in-Chief and Government to decide upon the measure. Lord Cornwallis, it appears, had solicited a public statement of Colonel Pearse's plan, as appears by the following letter:

" MY LORD,

" In obedience to your commands I have the honour to lay before you a plan of tentage for the Sepoy corps of the Bengal establishment, together with the calculation, and a statement of the principles upon which they are founded, and the rules necessary to be observed to carry the plan into execution with effect."

" I have also almost finished the plan for the general tentage, of which this is a detached part, and I hope to have the sequel complete by next Tuesday."

" I am very thankful for the honour your Lordship did me by your order to prepare the papers; and shall be extremely happy if any part of them shall be thought worthy of your Lordship's approbation."

" FORT WILLIAM:
22nd November 1785."

" I am,
My Lord,
Your most obedient and humble servant,
T. D. PEARSE."

We pass by probably only for the present, the long statement which accompanies this letter, as we have much interesting matter before us, connected with the present memoir.

On the 8th of January 1787, we find Mr. Hastings was addressed by Colonel Pearse as follows:—

" MY DEAR FRIEND,

" The fate you have met with, the persecution you have undergone for saving India are the rewards which I expected you would meet, when I learnt that Macpherson was made a Baronet, and I might have expected it earlier than I did, if I had considered that the same dignity was conferred on Rumbold, though I confess I did not imagine matters were so bad as I find they are. I thought he had secured his own safety by his money, and as the set who saved him were out, those who were in might pursue different principles. I now perceive that my eyes were darkened by superstition, which taught me to believe that there was some degree of integrity in the Island which gave me birth. It is not so, and I was a fool for my belief. And yet when I reflect upon what has happened here, I must begin to believe again, and so here is my creed. That Cornwallis is sent to be *Hastingsed*—half prejudy is embarked—the other half embarks soon. I saw old S——— return to the water which cast him up before, on Thursday sennight; and Mac goes off shortly, they say, to the Cape only. If only, may the ship founder, and every trace of her be buried in the deep! for if he returns, 'India shall pass from the hands of England;' so says the Prophet, though he has not said to whom. With respect to my creed, I have foundation for it, which is more than many creeds can boast. Cornwallis has made us all happy; as he becomes more known, he rises in the respect of the natives. They see the revival of Hastings in him, and they expect a good, a firm, and an upright government, resolved upon doing what is right; not diligent to investigate the billionth part of a grain of lead, nor extravagant to waste the treasures of the State upon minions, and its own creatures."

" In the *things* that are removed the natives saw rapacity, timidity, injustice, tyranny, weakness, ignorance, fickleness: millions squandered on minions—annas extorted from their opponents, and sent to the public treasury in procession to pay off the public debt—the public robbed to gratify private secretaries, and the complainants threatened with destruction if they did not withdraw their complaints—despondency in the countenances of

the injured, and insolence and malignity in those of their oppressors. India and I saw John Macpherson made a Baronet, and Hastings cast into a den of lions or more savage beasts, an hungry and disappointed faction: and hence we conclude that the rules by which England is to fall, will not to be departed from."

"May your own noble spirit support you through the fiery trial. I wish with all my heart that you had not been exposed to it: alas! that you would not believe me."

"Under Lord Cornwallis I begin to breathe again; I had been nearly suffocated; but when I write concerning him, rely upon my veracity, if I assure you write the words of the whole. Cornwallis has made Bengal happy, and has given a new face to things in India, and every day produces something to make all more happy, and the face of the country more beautiful."

"Sandutt Ali and the Nawab Morbauruck Uldowlah have been down here. I visited both, and I had the honour to entertain the Nawab in the fort by a cannonade from the ramparts, and a breakfast in the *Great House* where I reside. Hyder Beg Khawn is on his way, him I presume I shall see at Dum Dum, where the corps is, and where we have already twice been honoured with his Lordship's presence and approbation, though only at drill. Upon the whole, I am as happy as I can be whilst you are absent. I wish you also could enjoy, or were allowed to enjoy happiness. May it soon be yours and continue to the end."

"FORT WILLIAM,"

8th January 1787.

"I am,

Your faithful friend,
T. D. PEARSE."

"As you suffered the trays of mangoes to be received, because those who send them claimed a right to send, extend the rule to the pipe of Madras that is on board the 'Ganges'."

TO LIONEL DARRIEL, ESQ.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

"Sloper gone, and Macpherson going is pretty nearly what a man in the situation I was, under them could have prayed for: perhaps I did so: whether I did or not I will rejoice at it and so shall India."

"Twas a mercy that there did not fall a red ribbon for Sloper, and that blue one did become vacant for Cornwallis. I wish it was arrived. The 'Intelligence' will inform us of many things that we are now ignorant of, and remove our vain doubts on others that we have heard partially."

"With respect to myself, every thing remains just as it was. I have not asked: consequently have not been refused. I have been trusted, and I believe have again satisfaction."

"I must continue to wait until the 'Intelligence' arrives what news she may bring I cannot guess, but when I reflect upon the events at home, I rather fear than hope."

"The persecution carried on against Hastings, makes me even hate England. I almost repent that I have sent my son to the place, lest his education should give him principles which would make me detest him."

"Your son is well beloved, and deserves to be so. Some ten years hence may you be able to write me the same of mine: then when the curtain lowers down I will exclaim, God and my friends be praised! Adieu."

FORT WILLIAM,

8th January 1787.

T. D. P.

"On the 'Ganges' there is pipe of Madeira at your service."

TO GENERAL PATTISON.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

"When Hastings left us, my letters showed that I considered his departure as a public calamity. It is with joy I write it, the arrival of Lord Cornwallis has saved India. Sloper is gone, Macpherson carries away the rest in a few days. But what a prostitution of rewards! Sloper has obtained one hundred pounds a year for every month in which he filled the place of a Company's servant! Macpherson is made a Baronet! and Hastings is delivered over to his sworn enemies, an hungry disappointed faction, to be torn to pieces for having made a feudatory pay his quota for war: or, to speak properly, for having punished a collector of a province who had presumed to raise a rebellion, who had emissaries in every durbar in India, trying to excite, all to join against the English, and who took the opportunity, when we were engaged with all the globe, to try to extirpate the English. Amongst us it is a thing well known that every zemindar was ready, and waited for the signal at Benares, and a fortnight had run in favour of Cheyte Sing, the English in India would have all been massacred."

"For saving India, Hastings is to be tormented to death! For attempting to sell India to the French; for having signed the compact, and only waiting for the opportunity, Macpherson is made a Baronet! For disgusting the army: for robbing them of their rights to enrich himself and Secretary; for forming a fictitious contract by which to rob that army, under the pretence of saving, which was a false pretence, Sloper is to receive, 1,500*l.* a year in England! Cornwallis has already done so much good, that I presume the axes are put in readiness. Rodney I suppose is executed by this time and though the papers do not mention it, I dare add old Elliot likewise; were I their Judge, they should not live an instant, for they are all guilty against the new statute, which *makes it felony to deserve the admiration of mankind and the thanks of one's country*. Seldom has it been the case, but I can say, that my situation is happy. Under Lord Cornwallis I feel a comfort which I have long been a stranger to. If the absence of pain gives pleasure, of course the removal of torture gives delight. I cannot express all I feel, wanting words to do so. His Lordship raises the structure of his own happiness, by uniting the bliss of others. Honour, integrity, and justice are his supporters, and the rays of gladness are reflected around him. May every bliss be yours."

I am, Dear General,

etc, etc.

T. D. PEARSE.

FORT WILLIAM. {
8th January, 1767. }

"Let me beg you to receive a pipe of Madeira, which is on the 'Ganges,' as an offering of thanksgiving from me."

TO WARREN HASTINGS, ESQR., &c., &c.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

"You are too kind to think of me—I blush when I consider that I have given you trouble when I would have laid down my life to have ceased you of it. Yet by your kind letter received by the 'Intelligence,' I find it has been so."

"The letters which you were troubled with from me, were written when we had not any reason to suppose you were to be delivered over to persecution as a reward for saving

India. We have heard of the Rodneys and Hooda, and we did in idea behold Hastings seated by their side in the upper house. We knew where we ought to look for Hastings—we looked, and our sight was confounded by the sight of patents for Macpherson and Runbold, and by a vote to whitewash the man who introduced Hyder into the Carnatic to hide his own villainies."

"It is true that I wrote other letters about my concerns after I had heard what was agitated at home, and I sent home duplicates of others. This I did, because as I had inadvertently plunged into the misfortune of giving trouble to you; I thought I could not add to that trouble by letting you know the sequel of my business."

"I feel the vast obligation I am under to you for the generous assurance with which you have honoured me, as you would wish me to it."

"I pass my time in comfort with Lord Cornwallis, respected by him, and of course by others; and I smile with pity at those who withheld their respect, because they thought to court favour by doing so."

"Macpherson went away in the 'Barrington'; he *stole away*, and thus preserved his real character to the last. From the ship he sent up a sealed paper, to be lodged with the Secretary, which is to be opened when he is dead, or sends further instructions about it. Some way it is a prophecy, to be opened if it comes to pass, or to be suppressed if it does not; and adds, that this is the best mode of prophesying. He set off to go to Madras for his health, now he is going to the Cape for the same purpose, where, I suppose, with the rest of the people, he will find a French frigate to carry him to the south of France for his health or safety. What a misery it must be to be conscious of deserving contempt!"

"To-morrow morning Cornwallis reviews us, so lest I should not be able to resume the pen in time for the packet, may every human good attend you."

"FORT WILLIAM,
18th of February, 1787."

I am;
&c., &c.
T. D. PEARSE.

On the 28th of December, 1786, we find Colonel Pearse's opinion upon the use of 3-pounders recorded in a letter to Lord Cornwallis, being an answer to a communication from Government, proposing that a portion of Bengal 6-pounders should be sent to Madras, and some 3-pounders received in exchange.

"With respect to the 3-pounders which the Presidency of Fort St. George offer to this, I beg leave to offer my opinion that they are not worth accepting, unless for the purpose of the metal to be cast into 6-pounders; and this, if they arrive here at all, I beg leave to recommend, having by very long experience, found that a less calibre than a 6-pounder is not capable of producing any good effects, and consequently 3-pounders are very little better than incumbrances. We have eighteen here already."

"In the late war in the Carnatic it was found that 6-pounders with horses, could follow the Cavalry wherever they moved; so that if we needed, guns for the Cavalry, it would be necessary to have 3-pounders, even for this purpose."

On the 28th of February, we find a letter written to Lieutenant-Colonel Call, on some projected improvements in Fort William. The concluding

passage is, "I send you the names of the Bastions, etc., of the Fort, as I should name them. I take the names from those in actual use:—

NEW NAMES FOR GATES, BASTIONS, RAVELINS, &c. &c. OF FORT WILLIAM.

A. South Bastion	...	...	...	Dacca Burge.
B. Chowringhee Bastion	...	...	...	Chowringhee Burge.
C. Tank Bastion	...	...	...	Thalab Burge.
D. Calcutta Bastion	...	...	...	Calcutta Burge.
E. Bazar demi Bastion	...	...	...	Bazar Burge.
F. Arsenal demi Bastion	...	...	...	Silla Conha Burge.
G. Chowringhee Gate	...	...	...	Chowringhee Durwaza.
H. Tank Gate	...	...	...	Thalab Durwaza.
I. Red Gate	...	...	...	Lall Durwaza.
K. Kidderpore Gate	...	...	...	Kidderpore Durwaza.
L. Calcutta Gate	...	...	...	Calcutta Durwaza.
M. River Gate	...	...	...	Deriah Durwaza.
N. Chowringhee Ravelin	...	...	...	Chowringhee Durwaza Burge.
O. Tank Ravelin	...	...	...	Thalab Durwaza Burge.
P. Red Gate	...	...	...	Lall Durwaza Burge.
Q. Kidderpore Ravelin	...	...	...	Kidderpore Durwaza Burge.
R. Calcutta Ravelin	...	...	...	Calcutta Durwaza Burge.
S. Bazar Counter-guard	...	...	...	Bazar Bahir Burge.
T. Arsenal Counter-guard	...	...	...	Silla Conha Bahir Burge.
U. Barrack Redoubt	...	...	...	Barrack Bahir Burge.
V. Ghant Redoubt	...	...	...	Ghan Burge.

On the 10th of March the Bengal Artillery was reviewed by Lord Cornwallis at Dum Dum, and His Lordship expressed himself much pleased with all he saw, and a general order was issued so flattering to Colonel Pearse, as to call forth a letter to Lord Cornwallis expressing his most lively gratitude.

In consequence of a great number of desertions having taken place from the European troops in garrison, Colonel Pearse on the 22nd of March presented a paper to Lord Cornwallis on the subject. The three concluding paragraphs of this paper relate to a subject which is well worthy of consideration, viz., to establishment of regular punch-houses, where there are European troops."

"If this be done, a well regulated punch-house in the Fort will contribute to sobriety amongst the men, and prevent many from going to town, where they are seduced by the low Europeans, and secreted until berths are provided for them on ship board."

"I do not propose a punch-house for the amusement of the Commandant, as I have never yet benefited by the destruction of my men. I renounce such a gain, were it admissible:—but I verily believe that a punch-house is an actual necessity in Fort William, and I therefore recommend it."

"It is necessary to prevent excesses and other vices, and I do think recreation, well regulated, may do much more than the most exemplary punishment. The troops ought to be paid by the week: they are now paid monthly. But as they pay sergeants were lately

struck off, they ought to be restored; the striking them off did not save 500 rupees per month, and it was a very ill-judged saving."

On the 18th of July Colonel Pearse addressed a letter to Lord Cornwallis, proposing improvements in Fort William, which we believe were all attended to, and executed according to Colonel Pearse's suggestions. The principal of these were:

1st.—Lining the ramparts of the Fort with bricks throughout, which is only partially the case now.

2nd.—Altering all the drains in Fort William, so as to make them shallow and broad, instead of being deep and narrow, to the great nuisance of the garrison.

3rd.—New sluices to be made, to keep the ditch of the Fort clean, so as to enable the water to be carried completely round the Fort: entering at one end of the ditch, and running completely round the Fort with a gradual fall to carry off the water.

4th.—Small arcades to be built in the realins for the sepoy's of the garrison to cook their victuals in, for which purpose no place has been to this time provided.

5th.—That necessaries should be made over the Canette for the use of the sepoy's and servants, which have not to this time been provided.

Lord Cornwallis proceeded on a tour of inspection to the upper provinces in the month of July, 1787, leaving Colonel Pearse in command of Fort William, with power to assemble Native General Courts Martial when necessary.

On the 13th of February, 1788, we find a letter addressed to Sir Joseph Banks as follows:—

SIR,

"A small box will be delivered to you by Captain Cooper, of the 'Atlas,' East Indian man, who has been kind enough to take that charge and trouble for me. It contains a meteorological journal of the weather here from the 23rd of November, 1775, to the end of June, 1787. Also a brass model of a Machine to turn a mill by the steam engine. A model in ivory of a vertical axis supported by three friction wheels. A model in wood of the same, with four friction wheels, when the weight is great; and a model of a Marine Barometer tube. I beg the honour of their being accepted by the Society."

"In the packet there is a letter containing further accounts of these things, addressed to you. I beg you will excuse the liberty I have taken, for though I claim a right to be a fellow-labourer in the field of science, I have not the honour of knowing you personally."

"Certain astronomical observations that I sent home to Mr. Maskelyne, and which he did not lay before the Society, with others, made as the detachment which I commanded in the late war in the Carnatic, marched back to Bengal; by which a survey of 1,200 miles was accurately made, have been printed for the first volume of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of which I have the pleasure to be a member. I shall have the honour to send a copy to the Royal Society, unless our learned President should think proper to

do it. I will send home by the next ship, the continuation of the meteorological journal; and henceforward a copy of the journal of the year annually; unless our Society should desire to print it, in which case I have not the honour to be a member of the Royal Society, I must admit the prior right to the produce of my labours, such, as they are, to be with the Asiatic."

"FORT WILLIAM,
13th of February, 1788"

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

&c. &c. &c.

"T. D. PEARSE"

The following description of the models sent to Sir Joseph Banks, appears in a letter to him as President of the Royal Society. As it also contains an excellent description of the mode of filling Barometer tubes with mercury, we transcribe it as interesting and valuable memorandum to the Indian Philosophical reader.

"The model made of Brass,* shews the method of working two pistons by the motion of a winch, or the reverse of that, the method of turning a wheel by the motion of lever (beam) of a steam engine. This was sent home by me some years ago to Sir Robert Barker, and was lavished by me in India in the year 1779. Sir Robert did not present it to the Society as I requested, because Mr. Smeaton, one of the members of your Society, said it was not my invention. I presume Mr. Smeaton could only mean that I was not the *first inventor*, and whether I am so or not, I cannot take upon me to say positively, though I still believe I am, and I shall trouble you with my reasons for that belief."

"In the Philosophical Transactions there is a paper of Mr. Fitzgerlad's, and a drawing of his contrivance to turn a wheel by the lever of the steam engine, which method is totally different from mine, and very complex."

"The late Mr. Stewart, who published an account of Booras in the Philosophical Transactions, and who was formerly Secretary of the Supreme Council in Bengal, a gentleman of my intimate acquaintance, who I believe was a Member of the Royal Society, and Society of Manufactures and Commerce, shewed me a very little while before he quitted India, a model of a contrivance of his for doing the same thing. His method was totally different from mine, and effected what was intended to be done, by means of a chain, the links of which worked in the teeth of an arch described by the beam of the steam engine. This method was borrowed from the rope maker in India, who twist their strands by a rope that passes over a pulley above the twisting spindle."

"By discoursing with him, I learned that a method of turning a wheel by means of a steam engine, was a thing much sought after at home; for that Fitzgerlad's the only mode he then knew of, was too complicated. In 1780 the Board of Ordnance of Bengal having desired me to give directions for the construction of some engines to extinguish fire, it became a subject for my consideration what mode would be the easiest to work the pistons, and this led me to the invention. The late Lieutenant-Colonel Watson, who was then but just returned from England, told me that he had seen all the newest improvement in steam engines, and that my mode of turning a wheel by means of them, was different from, and more simple than any he had seen. I have lately obtained the publications of

* This is the same contrivance of which a plate and description is given in the *Military Repertory* vol. I, page 172.

the Society of Arts and Manufactures of England and of France, and I do not find in them any thing like what I have now the honour to send to you. From what I have said, I think that I have shewn clearly that I am the first inventor of this mode; and I can positively assert that I did invent it, that is to say, that I did not receive any hint about it either from books, writings, or discourse, and this is all the merit I presume to claim. The model in Ivory shews the method of supporting a vertical axis on friction wheels, which I perfected about two months ago. In this model, the friction wheels are frustums of cones, the radii and axes of which are equal; and the screw at the outer end of the axis of one of these friction wheels, adjusts and applies that friction wheel to the cone that supports the vertical axis and at the same time keeps the base of the friction wheel from touching the support of its axis, thereby preventing in a great measure the resistance which the friction wheel might receive from friction. I hardly need say that such a screw is necessary to each friction wheel."

"When the weight to be supported is very considerably greater than the effort to displace the axis laterally, the number of friction wheels can be increased to four, and the slant side may be less inclined to its axis; in which case, the slant side of the cone of the vertical axis must be more inclined, so that the angle which it forms with its base, may be equal to the complement of the angle which the slant side of the friction wheel makes with its base."

"The model in glass shews how to convert a land barometer into a marine barometer. The piece of Ivory which contains the small tube, must not be fixed to the large tube by cement, or made air-tight; because in fixing it on, some air would be confined, and thereby introduce itself into the tube when the barometer should be put up for use. It must, however, be fixed firmly, and but just loose enough to give the air passage through its junction with the glass. The small tube is fixed into the ivory on the same principle, and air can escape beneath it."

"After this apparatus is applied to the tube in which the mercury has been boiled, and that tube is fixed into the box of the barometer in such a manner that the mouth of the tube itself exclusive of the ivory apparatus, be always half an inch immersed in the mercury; if the box be filled, and the part of the tube below the box heated, the mercury within the tube, with by its expansion, will drive out the air lodged in the vacuities between the glass tube and the ivory apparatus, and therefore complete the continuity of the mercury within the tube, with the mercury in the box. As the mercury cools, the mercury in the box will supply the place of the air, and for ever exclude it from the tube. Experience has taught me that the small tube must be fixed horizontally at the side of the ivory, as it is in the model, and not vertically through the bottom of it. As I do not find that this apparatus does in any degree prevent the mercury from rising to the same height that it would do in an open tube, I am of opinion that it would be an improvement on Barometers in general, to make them so; as it would in a great degree prevent the possibility of any air getting into the tube on sudden jolts, or jerks in carriage. Barometers in which the mercury has not been boiled through the whole extent of the tube, are of so little worth, that the makers of them may perhaps be glad to know how they can perform the operation without much expense, or danger of breaking the tube. This may be done in the following manner:—

"Let an iron sling be prepared to support the tube in a vertical position. This sling should consist of two circular plates of iron, each twice the diameter of the tube intended to be heated. Let these be perforated with three holes across a diameter of each;

the two outermost are to be of the size of a wire strong enough to support the tube and the mercury. In the lower plate, the middle hole is to be of a conical shape (counter sunk), to receive the end of the tube which is to be supported."

"In the upper plate the middle hole is to be wider than the largest tube used; these two plates are to be joined together by two bars of iron rivetted into holes at the edges, and are to be distant from each other about 30 inches."

"In the upper plate two additional holes are to be bored near the edges, at right angles to the former, into which are to be introduced the ends of the loop of iron which is to support the whole apparatus. This loop or handle is to be wide enough to allow the introduction of a small iron funnel, to be fixed up on the upper end of the tube."

"Let a small funnel of hammered iron be prepared, the cup of which is to be about $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter, and as much in depth; in shape like a small tea cup; the whole at the bottom of the cone of the funnel is to be less than the bore of the glass tube, but the neck of the funnel is to be wider than the external diameter of the largest tube, to which it is to be applied. Let the whole be made as light as possible, but all of one piece, without seams or solder."

"Let a furnace, in shape like a large bowl, be prepared, about 15 inches in diameter, and 4 or 5 inches deep; and let the bottom be perforated with a hole a little wider than the plates of the iron sling. Let this furnace stand upon the top of a tube of wood or metal about $3\frac{3}{4}$ feet high, and be placed exactly beneath a pulley fixed to the ceiling or any other convenient place, and distant from the top of the fire about five or six feet. Fill the tube in the usual way with mercury, and then put on the iron funnel, filling up the vacancy between the glass tube and the neck of the funnel with thin pieces of cork, to prevent the escape of the mercury, then cut off the superfluous part of the cork, even with the lowest part of the neck of the funnel, and pour mercury into the funnel, until a little rises into the cup."

"Let the tube thus prepared be put into the iron sling, and the handle of the sling be tied to a cord that passes over the pulley before mentioned. Let a fire be made in the furnace by putting large pieces of charcoal round the edge of the hole in the bottom of the furnace, until the bowl is full; then let the operator take the cord in his own hand, and lower the iron sling gradually into the cylindrical cavity of the furnace; then watch the mercury until it boils at the closed end of the tube, at that place the boiling ought to be continued for nearly a minute. The operator must then let the tube down about an inch, and wait until the mercury of the tube of the part in the furnace boils. This must be continued inch by inch, and in this manner the process may be safely conducted. The fire must be kept up by means of broad fans, any blast from the bellows, or the smallest moisture within or without the tube, will infallibly cause a fracture. When the operation is ended, the iron sling is to be removed from the furnace, to a place where it may gradually cool, and the funnel and mercury is not to be taken off till the tube is wanted for use. It will also be necessary so to regulate the fire, that the mercury may not boil furiously; but a degree of heat less than boiling will not drive out the air, it must actually be made to boil."

The description of the alteration in a Barometer, as invented by Colonel Pearse, is also sent in a letter to the inventor of Marine Barometers.

In Fig. 1. Plate XIV. aa bm ba, represents a section of a piece of ivory—d, a small piece of a thermometer tube—the neck of the ivory, of which aa are opposite points of the edge, is turned small enough to enter the Barometer tube without any force being required to push it in. On the

horizontal part of the shoulder of the ivory b, b, small grooves are to be made, so as to give passage to the air. The same is also to be observed in regard to the tube dd. This small apparatus is to be bound on with silk after the tube is fixed into the box, and the box is filled with mercury. Heating the tube will make the mercury expand, and drive out the wind. If it were air tight, the wind would be confined, and spoil the Barometer, as experience has taught me. When the mercury cools, the union between the mercury in the tube and that in the box being complete, it will be impossible for any air to get in, so long as the box is kept full of mercury; but unless the mercury in the tube of a Barometer is boiled in-inch by inch, it is of little worth. As we have no glass houses in India to supply our wants, those who use mathematical instruments here, must often mend and sometimes make, and at other times must contrive how to turn one instrument into another.

In March Colonel Pearse addresses a letter to J. Scot, Esq., in which he states that he has been long labouring under severe illness, and the letter concludes as follows :—

"The pangs I feel for Hastings are severe indeed! When I read the debates upon the subject, my soul is all on fire! I see with horror that faction murders truth, and drives out every endeavour to defend her! Acting supplies the place of argument, and mutilated fragments of mutilated letters are brought as proofs, which the mob hear without understanding, and believe because incomprehensible; although delivered in flowing periods, and enforced by the wonderful exertions of the actor."

In November we find the following interesting letter.

TO MR. HASTINGS.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I can truly say that this year has not passed without affording something to gratify me, for in it I have had the happiness to receive five kind letters from you, for which I give my sincere thanks. Your first of the 8th of February mentions the pleasure you received from hearing both from me and others, that Lord Cornwallis has thought me worthy of his notice, and has on all occasions treated me with a most friendly attention (which rather increases than the contrary) and I will study to deserve it. Hussey delivered me a letter of the same date, and your intimation that he shewed attention to you, shall entitle him to every attention on my part. Hitherto I have been able to shew little or none to anybody; for indeed, my dear sir, when your letters arrived, I did not imagine that I should live to answer them. Lieutenant Cooper delivered yours of the 25th March, he shall meet every assistance I may be able to give. I trust he will not suppose that I have neglected him, though from the severe illness which I have laboured under, I have not been able to see much of him. I have not the means of serving for ever, which he sees plainly: Lord Cornwallis has not, and yet he would do it if he could, because he is recommended to his Lordship by General Conway, who, whilst he was Commander-in-Chief, paid much attention to His Lordship."

"Nicholls and myself were school-fellows and bed-fellows at Mitcham in Surrey, where he staid to finish his education; but the ruin of my father turned me adrift at fourteen and

a half years old, with an education not half finished. Thank God! however I had been pushed on far enough to give me a relish for study, to which, added to a constitution ever unaccustomed to riot, I owe that course of life which has blessed me with the honour of being admitted to your friendship. It is a great pleasure to hear that Nicholls has displayed the principles which worthy old Eyanson deeply planted in our hearts; and I trust that either of us would rather die than renounce those principles. By these he has dared to refuse to act contrary to truth."

"Your kind letter of the 27th of March would have made me submit with patience to the painful arrangement about rank. Musgrave is a brave soldier, and bled for his country in America; some of us are not less so, and have bled for our country in India. Musgrave deserved rewards from the King; but he had not any right to my slice of it; for a right I had, because though under the Company's name, still England was the cause for which we fought. Here we did conquer, but there all was lost that was fought for. It is true Hastings forbade us to let the colours fade in India, and his orders filled every soul with enthusiasm; so the English standard brightened in the East, and now we are ready to support them again under the same impulse. But the new arrangement of rank tends actually to debasing the whole of the Company's service, with the specious appearance of granting nearly all we asked; for it will be said, though the cessation of arms at Cuddalore is fixed for the period of the commencement of this arrangement, and about a third of the Company's Officers do not instantly get what they asked, yet as the promotion goes on in both services according to the casualties of either, in a few years all who seem at present excluded, will enjoy equality of rank in their next commissions—this is specious—but false, as it applies to all, for the Colonels are excepted, and therefore equality of rank is refused in the superior ranks."

"The Directors sent orders in 1786, that there should not be any Officer in their service promoted to a rank above a Colonel; and it is enforced with the utmost strictness and even severity. For Howe and Nelson, who are Brigadier-Generals, are on the 29th of September next, to become Colonels of 1783. McLeod, Elphinstone, and two or three more Lieutenant-Colonels and Majors of the King's, with the rank of *full Colonels in India* are at the same time to yield up their local brevets: all this seems fair,—but it is not so. The order to stop our promotion puts us beneath them. In September next they will become Lieutenant-Colonels and Majors, and our two Brigadier-Generals will become Colonels. By September next they will become Colonels on some general promotion in the King's service, and perhaps are so at this moment; then they rank with the Company's Colonels according to the dates of commissions for a little time, until by another general promotion they become Major-Generals, and then at once step over the Company's Colonels, who, by the orders of the Directors, sent by ministerial mandate, cannot be made Major-Generals. Ultimately then we must all be superseded by Officers, not more deserving, not more skillful, not more brave, more loyal, or more zealous than we are as servants of the Company. It may be said that the rise in the Company's army being by seniority only, many rise up not fit for superior commands,—grant it—then let them look at home: I dare say they can find a fool to match our fool—and match for match as long as we can stake. One kind of wisdom even our fools possess, which their wise men cannot acquire at once, they know how to manage the natives and the climate; and their wise men despised both at first. Lord Cornwallis saw many monsters when he arrived, which he views now, not as monsters, but as things right in themselves, adapted to the country and the climate, and not alterable for the better. But every Governor who shall come will not be a Cornwallis; and the more stupid they are, the

more obstinate they will be; and the more they will set their faces against anything that deviates from the rules in St. James's Park."

"To write to you upon such subjects as these, would even to myself have seemed ill-timed: but that your letters have shewn you to be so much above the persecution which you are undergoing, that I hardly dare to write upon it. Yet I will venture to say that our feelings boil with indignation at it; and whilst you are calm, we are overpowered with grief on your account. That you should find time to think of what we may suffer, and what in particular I may suffer from the consideration of speculative points, is too much, indeed it is! the very name of England is grown odious in my ears, and though invited to it by yourself, I will never set foot in it again, unless transported by open force; and if that should happen, only close confinement should make me stay in it for an hour."

"Your son-in-law is here, he lives with Thompson. Touchet never brought him to me, and it was some time before I knew that he was in India; but when Thompson goes I have laid claim to him, and have a room ready, not merely in my house, but in my heart; for he is yours, and therefore shall be mine, whenever he pleases to be so; and, I think I may say, as long as he pleases, for I can safely assure you, that I am in health again though lean enough. Perhaps I must again have recourse to mercury, to which I certainly owe my life,—and as to my disease, the doctors may discuss what it is when it is gone from me. If I have any of it left, it is so little that I hardly know it, and though last year the cold almost destroyed me, this year I feel it comfortable and delightful. May the House of Lords deliver you from the hands of your persecutors! may their rancour prey upon their own minds! may your triumph be great, and long your life! Amen.

"FORT WILLIAM,
9th of November, 1782."

Yours faithfully,
"T. D. PEARSE."

The following letter, containing instructions for the Trustees of Colonel Pearse's son, who was in England for education, we find in the Letter-book of this period.

TO THE TRUSTEES OF THOMAS DEANE MAHUMUD PEARSE.

"GENTLEMEN,

"I dare not absolutely prescribe a profession for my son, yet I sincerely wish that he may be educated for public life, and the bar seems to be the only line in which a man can force his way, and rise by his own abilities to dignity and importance. The qualifications for the bar will also, with the same abilities, enable a man to become conspicuous in Parliament, therefore I request that he be educated for the bar. I have accordingly set apart five hundred pounds a year for his education, and he has already been put to school at Harrow with a private tutor, to push and assist him in his learning, and I mean this assistance to be continued. When he shall be qualified for the university, I request that he may be sent to Cambridge. His grandfather was a fellow-commoner at Jesus College; but the choice of the College must be left to you, for I understand that there is a great difference amongst them, and that much depends on the choice. In choosing Cambridge, perhaps I err: Oxford may be fitter for the object I have in view, and as the time of sending him to either is distant, it may be the subject of future letters, and I shall hope to be advised by you."

"Having mentioned Parliament, it is necessary that I should advise you, that at this time I have not the means of pushing him in that way. At present what I give in trust

to you, is all that I see any prospect of being able to appropriate to him during my lifetime. I therefore earnestly hope that he may take a liking to the bar, and practise the profession; the rest must depend upon his own abilities, eloquence, and learning and on his own desire to rise and be conspicuous. I know, my friends, that I myself ought to be the person to direct upon the spot, but as I have met the most grievous disappointments, I must not presume to entertain the thoughts of revisiting the country I was born in; nor of enjoying the delights of watching over the progress of my son in the different stages of his education."

"It is, I fear, become a part of education, to make boys stage-players. It may be said that it teaches them the art of speaking correctly in public, and so it is a necessary part of that education which I have pointed out for my son. But I confess it does not seem to me at all requisite. I do not find that ever Cicero, or Demosthenes, were stage-players; and though Sheridan acts plays and writes them, though he fabricates speeches of six hours length, and rehearses them with all the action of the stage, I am fully convinced that Cicero would have done more than Sheridan, without that kind of acting which converted the House of Commons into a play-house, and made a player lament that Mrs. Siddons could not be present to represent the *Bhoo Beegum*.* If therefore it be possible in these times to teach my son to speak like an orator, I entreat you to guard him against the danger of stage-playing. Music and painting are deemed fine arts, and kings play solos, and some paint pictures; but I know that to do either well must require much time for practice, if a man means to excel, and the necessity of associating with those who excel in these arts, too often corrupts the morals, and certainly wastes time that cannot be spared from studies of another kind, by the barrister who aspires to the dignity of Chancellor. Instead therefore of becoming a performer, let him if possible be taught to be content with being one of the audience or spectators."

"Riding and swimming are necessary to every man; perfection in these arts may save a man's life; and the first is almost indispensably necessary for every gentleman, who means to use exercise."

"Fencing and dancing are absolutely requisite, because they give that grace and ease which qualify a gentleman for public company."

"Mathematics teach the art of reasoning strongly, truly and conclusively, better even than logic alone; but both combined lay the foundation of manly eloquence. Therefore I hope he will learn all these arts, and pursue these studies so far as may be necessary for the orator; but as I know the danger of intense application to mathematics, I pray you to guard him from it."

"Preserve him from gaining; and I pray you to enjoin him to defend his own dignity by his own strength and courage, and yet not be quarrelsome. If I seem too minute, excuse it. I have but this one child, I want to have him high in the estimation of mankind; manly, graceful, learned, not pedantic, eloquent and bold, able to defend himself, yet in offensive to others, and above all determined to form his own fortune by his own abilities, firmly resolving to rise to the highest dignity, and daring to clear away impediments. And because, my good friends, I cannot be his teacher as I ought to be, I hope you will not think that I have been too particular. For a moment change places with me; but may you never have the pain of being forced to trouble others to perform for you what you long to perform for yourself, nor meet with misfortunes to compel you to submit to it."

"T. D. PEARSE."

* Alluding to the speeches in Mr. Hastings's trial.—Ed.

The following letter to a Mr. Watts, who had made some application for the patronage of Colonel Pearse is strongly characteristic, and as such we give it a place.

TO MR. WATTS

SIR,

"It would afford me much real pleasure to be able to assist any gentleman of my acquaintance, who should, unfortunately for him, have occasion to wish for my aid. But I fear that your case is of that nature, that I have not the means of being of the smallest service. The post which you have mentioned is not of a military nature, nor is it in any shape whatever connected with the army. It has been the invariable rule of my conduct to confine myself strictly within the line of my profession. Though Lord Cornwallis has condescended to think me worthy of his notice, and the honour which that notice does me is the source of much happiness, yet I cannot venture to presume on it by introducing subjects to his Lordship, which in the time of my closest intimacy with my much to be honoured friend, Mr. Hastings, I would not have spoken to him about; lest by doing so, I should have renounced my own principles, and broken down the bounds which I had prescribed for myself. These reasons will, I hope, suffice to shew that in your case I can only lament that your labours have not been rewarded with success; and yet as Mr. Shore has taken up your cause, I think I may venture to say, that I perceive fair prospects opening to your view, and feel much satisfaction on that account."

Colonel Pearse having received orders from Lord Cornwallis to examine some papers containing a proposition to construct some new Power Mills by a Mr. Farquhar, the following was his report upon the same. The account of the strata of the soil at Garden Reach is curious.

"In obedience to the orders of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, I have perused the papers concerning the Power Mills, and I have examined the ground on the spot, and the plan of the Nullah taken by desire of the Committee, by Lieutenant Wilson, of the Engineers."

"I am of opinion that the Nullah is capable in its present state, of supplying water for more than the number of mills proposed; for by calculation I find it holds, exclusive of the branches, a difference between high and low water of cubic feet 9,410,444 up to Kysapore or letter F only, and a sluice there erected, would at a small expense widen it to hold double that quantity."

"The necessity of having good powder need not be argued by my office: I am qualified to say that though the powder made since Mr. Stewart's time, is upon the whole stronger than the Government powder in England when I left it, yet it is not so good in point of *equality and force* as that was."

"I lay before the Right Honourable the Governor-General a medium of a certain number of rounds of powder fired from each mortar, in the years 1787 and 1788 at Dunn Dum, and the last experiments were made with mortars standing upon wooden platforms, which at the end of the season were very little affected, and had only suffered by the starting of a few nails. These will shew the variations of the strength of powder of the same weight, and used in all respects under similar circumstances. The experiments of last year are the most to be relied on, because the two large mortars were new. The shells in these experiments were always of the same weight, and the whole of the powder intended for the

experiments was started into an heap, mixed together, sifted, dried, repacked in barrels, and afterwards turned every day in the magazine till opened for use."

"The place chosen is in my own opinion better than that where the mills now are, the water is fresh, and fitter of course for refining saltpetre without expensive repetitions. Below the fort they were liable to be destroyed at any time, for an armed boat might have passed up the river, and have done the business before intimation of the design could be had. The only objection to the new place, is the vicinity of the foreign settlements, and the possibility of the destruction of the mills in case of war, by some sudden effort of the nation about to commence hostilities with us, should they have the means of conveying intelligence to their settlements earlier than we get it. Why this should ever happen, I do not now know, and if Suez be again opened to the English, I think it cannot happen at any time. The mills intended to be erected, will, I am clearly of opinion, make powder more equable in force than the present rolling mills. I do not say any rolling mills, because I think these are capable of being improved, till they acquire superiority over pestles or pillons."

"That the present powder works are all in ruins is well known; therefore I think it will be better to erect new mills in a fit place, than to repair ruined mills in an objectionable one. Upon the whole I do not see any thing that ought to impede the experiment proposed."

"The Nullah is the drain of a very extensive peet, and itself will afford some water during the whole year. It is said that in the rainy season the peet communicates with the Sunderbunds; in some future day it may be an object to open it by a canal. Mr. Farquhar proposes a cut to carry off this water, but it will operate against his plan; and if the same sum were expended to make his floodgate a lock, it would secure an inland navigation."

"Having had occasion to examine the strata of the soil to a considerable depth, I presume to sub-join the observations, as they will serve to shew whether piling is, or is not necessary. They furnish me with reasons to think, that if the river end of each mill-course or sluice be placed at ten yards from the natural bank of the river, piling will not be necessary, and were I to build at my own risk, I would not incur the expense of piles."

"Account of the different strata of soils found in digging a pond and wells at Colonel Pearse's garden, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles below the Fort."

		feet.	inches.
Vegetable soil and sand	...	7	10.5
Brown clay which crumbles on exposure to the air	...	6	10
Soil, clay, mould, various strata	...	5	0
Marle and turf	...	1	10
Whitish blue clay	...	1	10
Marle, turf and roots of large trees	...	1	10
Stiff whitish blue clay	...	17	6
Clay and sand, with a little water.	...	3	0
Blue clay	...	5	0
Black tenacious clay with lumps of brown calcareous stony matter in considerable quantities	...	2	0
Lighter bluish clay, with white calcareous stone in lumps which effervesces furiously with acids	...	8	0
Total depth	...	54	8.5

"Below this depth there was found yellow clay and micaceous sand, about 3 feet in depth, and beneath the yellow stratum very fine water, which held in solution a small quantity of mineral alkali, and was saturated with fixed air. The water was slightly acidulous, the spring rose 35 feet in four hours, and the springs have kept the pond flowing ever since at the height of 46 feet."

	feet.	inches.
The well commenced from above low water of spring tides...	... 22	0.
And the bottom is below the level of low water ...	... 32	8½

"From the upper strata that are visible at Nawab Gunge, and from the boring began at low water mark, I conceive that the strata are the same, and if so, Mr. Farquhar will have the stiff whitish blue clay of 17½ feet thick to support the foundation of his works."

In a letter to Lord Cornwallis we find some remarks upon the subject of perambulators which ought not to be overlooked. Colonel Pearse says:—

"In the march to the Carnatic it was found that the perambulator was rendered useless before the detachment had performed a fourth of the march, the Surveyor was actually obliged to buy a new one at Masulipatam, and that also became useless before we reached Madras. The perambulators with small wheels and clock-work, are therefore by experiment, proved to be unfit for service of any duration."

"In the Madras Army Captain Pringle measured with a wheel of 7 feet diameter; and I caused a wheel to be made of the same dimensions, and adapted to it brass counting machinery, very different from what he had used, and I think better. One of these was used in my journey (with the cash) from Ganjam to Madras, and afterwards in all our subsequent marches quite down to Cuddalore, and from thence to Calcutta. Before we set out upon our return, two more of the same kind were constructed, and connected together by an iron axletree; and with these three, the distances were measured for that fine survey which was made by Lieutenant Colebrooke, in which the difference of longitude between Madras and Fort William, derived from the reduced measure by the wheel, and that calculated by observations of Jupiter's satellites, differed, as I think I found it, not quite five geographical minutes. I therefore recommend the single wheels of this construction for all future surveys, and will lend mine to the arsenal as a pattern for more to be made by. As perambulators are included in the proportions of stores, I beg leave to recommend sending them to the different stations, and also one to the office of Chief Engineer, and another to that of the Surveyor-General."

In January 1789 we find the following interesting letter to General Pattison, of the Royal Artillery:—

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"This season I was made happy by the receipt of your two kind letters for which accept my warmest thanks: but still more for the generous part which you take in my concerns.

"The arrangement of rank is so strange, so incomprehensible, that I will plainly acknowledge, that it does not please me, and that it ruins my prospects for ever. What passes on my mind on this occasion, it is not necessary for me to load yours with: you already pity me, your letter was to teach me to bear my fate. I trust that I shall not shew myself quite unworthy of your friendly admonition, and if by expatiating on the subject I could through your support obtain redress, of what since it is undeserved, I really deem

a grievance, I could draw such a picture of my own feelings as would be highly improper now, because it would only make you uneasy. God forbid that any thing which I may write should ever produce such an effect, and so I will turn away from this painful subject, and only add that we have received the *things called brevets*, for which we paid half price fees: it runs thus——“but as this commission is granted to you in virtue of the rank which you bear in the service of the Honourable East India Company, it is to have force and effect no longer than you shall remain in the said Company's service; unless you shall be transferred, with similar rank, into the immediate service of His Majesty.”

“From the latter part I consider it as the *lease*, and presume the *transfer release* is not far off.”

“The *Scudlow* arrived on the 22nd instant; it brought me many letters, but there was one I wanted and did not find. I hope my disappointment arose only from your being engaged in contemplating the beauties of nature, and the sweet prospect of rich abundance in the harvest that was about to reward the husbandman for his toils soon after she sailed. We have been afflicted with famine here, but the last crop set all right in this quarter; though I lament to say that famine has only shifted place; though we have plenty here now, our supplies will hardly serve the wants of other parts of India.”

“You will have heard how Burke's humane, gentle, mild, beneficent Rohillah* has plucked out the eyes of the aged, weak, infirm, oppressed Shah Allum, his lawful sovereign; how he was scourged with stripes, how the *senana* was plundered, and the wives and the mothers of the heirs of Hindustan were stripped and dishonoured; how he took out another line, and placed him on the throne; then scourged him; how he lastly deserted Delhi, and carried away the sons of Shah Allum, but left the old King to perish in the Fort, helpless, distressed, deprived of his eye-balls, tortured with the pains of his body, and racked in his mind for the fate of his unhappy children, whom the tender Rohillah had taken under his own care. The children he flogged, to make them feel that they were men; he disgraced them further by making them dance before him, to teach them how to move their limbs; he made them bow before him, to teach them humility. All this was done merely from cruelty, from a desire to monopolize the power of tormenting, and doing things monstrous to be told of.”

“To the men in England, the few who merit the name I mean, it will prove that Burke and his followers can assert what is false, but dare not utter truth. To the *company* of the Chapel, it will afford a new charge against Hastings, and to Sheridan, a speech of a month long.”

“Pray is it true, that the nobles have consented to let scenes be put up behind the throne, and a band behind the actors; and that Mrs. Siddons and Countess of P—— and Duchess of F—— and others of the weeping band, are engaged to act in the last scene of the trial, after Hastings shall have done, when the *gang* shall speak their last, (oh may it be their last dying speech!) and the curtain drop, till raised for the epilogue or judgment? Things as ridiculous as these are we hear; we certainly hear that the House of Lords was clapped by the ladies in the galleries when Sheridan declared that his tale was at an end! From this little rally, which pray excuse me for, you will see that I am not quite overcome, nor in a dying way. All last year however I was in so precarious a state, that I did not believe that I should live it out, but time has shewn that my constitution was stronger than my faith. And now my dear friend, let me add a few lines that I know will give you pleasure as the writing of them does to me.”

* Ghulam Khadir.

"It is my happiness to be able to assure you, that I still retain that place in the opinion of our noble Earl, which, from the time that I first obtained the honour of admittance to it to this moment, has been my comfort, my support, the gem which by its lustre shews where Pearse still exists, and still desires to be."

"This year (on the 17th instant) we were reviewed again by His Lordship. In my account of the former review, I described how we pass a ditch;—this year it was performed by the whole line of guns; first by the flank divisions covered by the centre, then by the centre covered by the flanks, both in advancing and retreating; and I believe that I fully convinced the spectators, that what we did would be practicable in the face of an enemy. The line of twenty guns was over in five minutes, and all were in line and firing with the water behind them, and in the next five minutes the water was between the enemy and the guns, and the firing never ceased. His Lordship alighted and came to the spot, into the midst of the busy scene, which was altogether as like a real action could be, nor did we think it any loss to be deprived of the sounds of the enemy's shot. His Lordship expressed himself highly pleased, and his thanks though only through me, were real. He does not issue thanks by camel loads, as they do not at Madras."

"FORT WILLIAM,

T. D. PEARSE."

The 27th January 1789."

To Mr. Petrie Colonel Pearse writes:

"You did us too much honour in supposing us worthy of the support you gave to our pretensions to full rank. If His Majesty had ordered that every Company's Officer should be commanded by his Sergeant Majors, we should have taken the parchment as we have done. There was a spirit amongst us formerly. 'The were served out at half prices, and recite that they cease to be of force, if we cease to serve the Company, unless we shall be hereafter transferred with similar rank to the king's. Some have got the lease, and the release will follow. My spirit boils within me: I said, I will not stay an hour; but I looked into my purse and found it empty; so I must stay to fill it if possible, and in the meanwhile I keep my brow as smooth as I can, and the wrinkles on the heart are hidden."

In the following letter there seems strong grounds for asserting that Colonel Pearse was most unjustly denied the rank which might have fallen to his lot, and soothed the last days of a laborious and zealous service of the Honourable East India Company.

To CHARLES PURVIS, Esq.,

"MY DEAR CHARLES,

"I resume the pen in consequence of a letter by the 'Swallow' which came to hand only yesterday, as I have been sent cruising for a week: It contains these words: 'Mr. Darrel and myself (Mr. Mitchell, deputy chairman, *no objection*, the Secretary at War ready to carry up any recommendation for your promotion), have done everything in our power; but Mr. Smith, the Chairman, has carried the majority against its being recommended from the India House for your having that rank, which they say themselves you so justly deserve; and it cannot be done without this. It may be done when some other person is Chairman, for Smith has a relation who is inferior to you in rank; but he says he has been longer in the Company's service, so they want such as are above him to come home, and then to send him out with his rank. Thus far the letter."

"Nearly as much as this you told me, and this relation is Tottigham. Charles! it is not true that Tottigham has served longer, though he did come out to India before me.

Tottingham arrived the 27th of July 1764, and resigned the 30th of March 1782, therefore he served 17 years and 8 months. Pearse arrived the 24th of August, 1763, is still here, and has not once been away or absent from his duty for 10 days, except on sickness; he has therefore served 20 years and a half, therefore to this day has served 1 year and 10 months longer than Tottingham, and when the Chairman urged the argument, had served at least a year longer than his relation. Were I a man of fortune I would wait for the rank, for it will come in course now. By the transfer I shall in 1791 become a Colonel in India from 1783, and future promotions, which invariably follow will give the title. The not giving the rank to me therefore will keep me here, whether I am rich or poor."

"My health, Charles, reminds me that I ought to visit England, and so I would, but besides the name of General, I want the means. If you ask why I do so, here is my answer. In 1781 I went to the Carnatic, and my allowances were settled as below, to which Morgan's and Goddard's are opposed.

			Goddard.	Morgan.	Pearse.
Pay for a month of 30 days	...	...	300	300	300
Allowance for table	...	...	5,000	5,000	4,000
Batta for 30 days	...	...	1,500	1,500	1,500
Contingencies	...	...	5,000	5,000	1,500
Offreckonings	...	...	0	150	150
Horses	...	...	250	0	0
			12,050	11,950	7,450
Secret services and contingencies	...	...	variable	2,000	variable

And the sum total was only 18,000 17,500

"In 1785 I asked Mr. Macpherson for the difference; see his answer in orders, (*vide* Minutes of Council, 10th of February 1785.) The answer establishes the justice of the claim, and the passing these allowances to Morgan in full, does it still more completely.—Then it is unjust to withhold the difference from me, merely because of imaginary distresses."

"Again, every senior Colonel, whether dubbed Commander-in-Chief under the Presidency or not, had $5\frac{1}{4}$ shares of revenue; other Colonels had only $2\frac{1}{4}$. The senior Officer had also very great allowances besides. Lord Cornwallis gave the $5\frac{1}{4}$ shares to the senior Colonel after Sibbert, and so to me, but kept the three shares, in deposits. The Directors refused to grant the shares, they too urged the same imaginary distresses. What is withheld from me by these pleas of distress, would enable me to visit you—get me my dues and you shall see my person—yet, I would not make it a bargain so to do; my health would demand it and enforce it, if I could exist in England. Oh Charles! I have not the means. Deduct the £150 a year, or the principal (for though not given, I will never resume it from my sister if I can avoid it) deduct this, have I a thousand pounds left? After making my settlements here, if I live till May, I shall have £5,000 more, so six in all; and if I had the shares, I should have about a lac of rupees. If the Carnatic part I should be independent, and repair to the House of Commons; for to obtain a seat there I came here, and until I can obtain it I will never quit. Somewhere I must die, then here as well as there; to me, here is better, because here I can live and save, amongst you I must beg, and who knows but I might beg in vain."

"Mr. Smith then by opposing me has injured the prospects of his relation, and by opposing will still further injure him; for poverty compels me to stay, and the want of the rank would have warranted it. Both these the Chairman could have removed by giving only what is my due; that is, by merely doing me justice. I write this, to be used if you

please, and think it can be of any benefit, but I again say I will not bargain—I am free,—and I will be a free agent."

"Adieu,

Dear Charles,

T. D. PEARSE."

"30th January 1789."

TO MR. HASTINGS.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"Your most kind letter of the 14th of April reached me two days ago (on the 22nd January) by the 'Swallow.' Thompson had left us about a fortnight ago, and so I instantly sent to Turner, and yesterday he brought me that letter, concerning which you honour me with your commands. To-day it set off for Lucknow, committed to the care of that trusty Hircarrah who conducted my detachment from Masulipatam to Cuddalore, and from thence to Bengal, attended by two others for fear of accidents. I inclosed it in a letter to the Nawab, in which I requested that he would do me the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the letter by the hawk, to enable me to communicate the receipt of it to you by the latest ships."

"Turner favoured me with a sight of your letter to him, and it determined me to send home a pair of Nepal pheasants, of exquisite beauty, which I have had ever since March last in a coop on purpose to prepare them for a voyage to you. If they live Blundel shall deliver them to you, together with a stuffed musk deer, in high perfection. Blundel is an officer of high merit, and a man of sound honest principles. I am promised more, and shall send all to you, that your villa may first be adorned with the plumage of Nepal, and England be indebted to you for another addition to its good things."

"We hear that Dundas, having drank too much wine, acknowledged that the ministers suffered Hastings to be impeached for the purpose of quashing the power which Hastings and the Indians had. What a set of miscreants! They owe their existence as Ministers to the man they now suffer to be tormented more cruelly than by the pains excited by racks and wheels: for what is bodily pain compared with that of the mind—and I can feel all that you must have felt, when the scurrility of one of your persecutors (into whose hands you have been delivered as a punishment for going home), extorted from you the exclamation—"It is false!"—an action which is bad in itself, cannot be made worse by the abuse of him who committed it; nor can abuse of a man under trial prove that he is guilty. Therefore a prosecutor who knows that his cause is good, and that his accusation can be supported by proofs, will cautiously avoid harsh expressions; while the prosecutor who feels that he undertakes to dress up fiction in the garb of truth, must rely upon abuse, and will try to harden the hearts of the judges by filling them with ideas of supposed criminality, all which must be conveyed and forced by eloquence and acting, and by the use of those very terms which men convinced of that criminality, would be apt to use in speaking of it. I rejoice that your vile persecutors have been reduced to the necessity of using such modes of proof as hitherto they have exhibited; for though it is odious to hear, and painful to bear in the first instance, yet the certainty of your internal rectitude, and the glorious triumph that will arise from exposing these falsities, will console you when it shall be your turn to speak; and the hearts of the judges will be filled with indignation against those who have laboured to pervert their judgment. This triumph, I trust, you will be receiving about the time that this letter reaches you; and God grant that it may be complete!—Oh may I live to hear of this! and to behold my Hastings emerged from the mist of delusion, which faction has raised to hide him from his country, and rewarded for his sufferings by a glorious clearance from the mass of calumny, and for his

services; by a seat amongst those men, before whom by barbarous forms he is obliged to kneel."

"Concerning myself I have little to say, but that I was till December last in a very declining state of health, and at times through the last year dangerously ill. The cold season has in a degree set me to rights again, but the seeds of my disorder are not rooted out; and every cloud that passes makes me fear that they will shoot again. However I was able to exhibit such a corps, and such performances before his Lordship, as made him express his delight and astonishment, and I still preserve his esteem undiminished."

"We have received the half price commissions, not worth a rap—dishonourable to hold, and meanly degrading to me and three more, and only to us four, for all the rest are rising to the rank of Colonel, and will acquire equality of rank. But I am poor, and so I will bear it for the little while I may live. Once I was high-minded and wanted a ribbon—now I shall endeavour to steer clear of a halter, since Mr. M.———is made a Baronet, and S.———has got what I strove to earn. I have missed my aim; it was not my fault, but it is my pain. Adieu! adieu! adieu!"

"Yours faithfully,
T. D. PEARSE."

The following letter is addressed to a Mr. Tyson, the private tutor of Colonel Pearse's son, when at Harrow School:—

"My Dear Sir,

"My letter by the 'William Pitt' and the duplicate by the 'Triton,' will inform you of the pleasure your accounts of my son up to April gave me, and you may naturally conclude that I was still more pleased to find by yours of August, that you consider his abilities of the first rate. God grant that they may turn out so through life: That he has made so much progress, that he has in so short a time got into the upper school, I attribute to the friendly aid which he has received from you. Left to himself he could not have accomplished it, and therefore I will take merit for putting him under your care, and render thanks for the pains which you have bestowed upon him."

"You already know some of my opinions on the modes of teaching: I own I am really a foe to those in use, and I confess I cannot see the smallest use in making Latin verses. I am certain this habit will corrupt the prosaic style, for often an elegant word must be put out to make room for one that is synonymous, in which the syllables suit the verse, and the words must inevitably be displaced to suit the metre in every line. This will introduce a habit of writing bad prose, and of choosing bad words,—and pray what good end can it answer? Men never talk in verse, unless they stut upon the stage and utter plays. You will say it will teach true pronunciation,—the length of the syllables I agree; but not pronunciation. I dare say my son is taught as I was—*lego, legis, legit*, for *lego, legis, lexit*—to call *Julius* who invaded England *Sesar* instead of *Kaesar*, and when he meets with the name of *Kaesar*, will be forced to translate it *Sesar*. In Greek, in Persian, and in Arabic, it is *Keisar*, consequently the C in Latin was K, and not S, as we utter before e and i; and the S never became Z. I dare say too that if the famous orator (whom I hope your pupil will through your care surpass,) was near by, that he would not turn his head if one should call out *O Sesar!* which is the way I was taught to utter *Cicero*, and I remember getting a box on the ear for railing *ecce, ecce*, and not *ecce*. Who would be able to guess that *Dioceas*, *Dioecina*, *Cephatic*,

Cephalalgý, Hydrocele were all Greek, pure Greek, *ῥολογία, ἡνιον, ἀρροήτης, ὀδοντία*. I know my opinion will not be of any weight, because I do not pretend to be a man of learning. I was turned into life to seek for bread at 14½, just as I was beginning to understand what I had been drudging at, and consequently have no pretensions to deep criticism in the dead languages. But remember, I only now write about the error of English pronunciation, and then arguing that making Latin verse will not teach the true pronunciation, and consequently is utterly useless. As I heard my son for a Lawyer, Latin, and Greek he must understand; Hebrew I am sure he need not learn; Arabic or Anglo-Saxon I desire to substitute. The latter must be the foundation of all the northern languages, and I believe too of most of the oriental. I heartily wish that I could speak it, or that I could get books in it, and its Lexicon particularly: I would at least compare. Excuse me if I have attempted to muddy waters, which are deemed pure by more competent judges. Only make my son speak as well as Sheridan, without uttering untruths in every sentence; let his language be as correct, but his tongue be incapable of falsehood, and his heart honest. Let him dare to tell the truth, though the Commons should expel him as a monster for doing so.

"I am, etc. etc.

"T. D. PEARSE."

A very alarming fire took place in Fort William in the month of March, in the dead of the night, in some workshops belonging to the Commissary, which were entirely consumed "with all they contained" (says Colonel Pearse in a letter to Lord Cornwallis) "except a number of carriages of different kinds, which by the unparalleled efforts of the Officers and soldiers were preserved from the flames." A complete set of arms for His Majesty's regiments, and all the Camp Equipage in store, "old and new," were destroyed.

In consequence of this accident Colonel Pearse addressed the following letter to Lord Cornwallis, which accounts for the present disposition of the Barracks, etc., in Fort William.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE CHARLES, EARL CORNWALLIS, K.G., &c., &c., &c.

"MY LORD,

"The accident which happened this morning in the Fort I have already reported in a letter on that disagreeable subject; this, which I now presume to address to your Lordship, concerns the arrangement which that accident seems to point out as indispensably necessary."

"The building which is consumed was a store-house and work-shop united, and last year it took fire, but was preserved without much damage. The fire then was occasioned by a forge, which from the ground floor communicated fire to a beam of the upper terrace. The accident of this day is not to be traced, it is supposed, to have broken out amongst the painters' tools, but then the coopers work there also, and they use fire: otherwise it might be laid to the charge of the workmen and their hookas, and in spite of every degree of vigilance, accidents from this cause may be said to be unavoidable. It of course follows that store-houses ought to be totally distinct from workshops, and that a union of them is incompatible. That fires are not frequent in dwelling houses in India, is not any reason why such accidents cannot happen: it is possible, and therefore store rooms ought not to be connected with dwelling houses."

"At present My Lord, the arsenal is a dwelling-house, and therefore it cannot be said to be one moment in safety. The south-east face is called the arsenal barrack, and is inhabited by the Captains and one Field Officer of the Artillery; the south-west angle by the Commissary of Stores, and the north-west by his deputy; so that two faces of it are dwelling-houses, and the whole of the spare arms of the establishment are inclosed between, and joined to two buildings that are liable to accidents from fire. From these premises I take the liberty to recommend the removal of every person who resides under that roof and in consequence,

1st.—To allot other quarters to the Commissary and his deputy for the present, and to put on house rent as many Officers as must be deprived of quarters until Barracks can be provided.

2ndly.—To convert the Royal barracks into Officers' barracks by running a wall through the middle of it, and one over the inner wall of each verandah, by valving the upper windows, which is about to be done, and raising the barracks so as to admit of two stories, and by increasing the offices where the soldiers' kitchens now stand, and where they may be increased without any danger to the magazines, or by erecting the requisite number in the area behind the south barracks. This will provide quarters for 68 subaltern officers, and will not cost much more than is about to be paid for it; because all the lower apartments will not need valves, and only *cutcha* partition walls to separate the offices."

3rdly.—To convert the destroyed buildings into barracks for the soldiers, by taking down the upper part of the south-west face, and adding a wall to the north-west face, to make it of equal breadth with the other two faces; and by breaking a passage through the north-east face, where the divisions will make the barracks equal; and lastly, by building up the retaining wall of the half of Calcutta gate curtain, immediately behind this building, and under it erecting the kitchens, etc., for the barracks. This will make it like the triangle, but sufficient to hold two battalions of infantry on the present establishment. The whole be valved above and below, as that is; and the door of the lower apartments be laid upon flues, open to admit the air. It will be requisite to move the kitchens of the north barracks, and to erect them in the area near the water gate, along with the offices for the gateway quarters, to afford room for the corps to parade."

4thly.—To alter the workshop sheds of the foundry, and so to enlarge them that all the forges and shops requiring the use of fire may be contained therein."

5thly.—To add to the water gate quarter, the room requisite to make it like the rest, and to appropriate it to the arsenal for the Commissary."

Lastly.—To give up to the Commissary of Stores, and to alter according to the several uses requisite for the arsenal, the two faces now used as dwelling-houses, by which arrangement the whole of the stores can be lodged in perfect safety, and separated from the workmen of all denominations. There is, however, one thing more, which I think it necessary to mention. We neither have, nor can have, water in the garrison to answer an emergency in case of fire, unless deep wells, at least ten feet wide, be sunk to the depth of sixty feet. The water will then be brackish, but it will serve to wash the drains, and be sufficient to extinguish fires; and if at one of these wells a steam engine was erected, with iron pipes to run round under the ramparts, and a leader up the main road, water could be so diffused that there could not be danger from fire, nor complaints of bad smells, as every drain could be washed daily."

"The destruction of the building will unavoidably occasion an expense, and a small addition will secure the stores of the establishment, and increase the quarters of the garrison, by a number, which will, I think, be equal to the house rent list. I therefore hope

your Lordship will excuse the liberty I take in thus submitting my ideas, on what it may be necessary to do to your Lordship's consideration."

"FORT WILLIAM :
9th March 1789."

"I am, &c., &c.,
T. D. PEARSE."

An idea may be formed of the value of the property which this fire destroyed, when, exclusive of the buildings, a great number of gun carriages, camp equipage, and several thousand stands of arms were consumed. By the great exertions of the men, stimulated to the utmost exertion as they were by the presence of Colonel Pearse, it is recorded that 135 garrison carriages, 22 field carriages with limbers, 7 ditto without limbers, 20 tumbrils, 8 transport carriages, and 1 ammunition waggon, total 193, were saved from the flames, besides 22 new carriages, which were to have been surveyed that very morning.

This is the last public act we find recorded amongst the papers which have been put into our hands, of this distinguished and lamented officer. We now lay before our readers the *last letter* which appears to have been written to Mr. Hastings.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I have postponed writing to the last minute, in hopes of being able to send word of the arrival of Hyder Beg Khawn's answer; but it is not yet come to hand, so I shall do it by the August Ship."

"Latterly I have been a good deal out of order, but by the application of mercury I hope to be freed from all complaints, as I find real benefit from it, and mend even in appearance."

"On Monday we had a fire in the Fort, in that building which Colonel Watson erected for the destruction of the stores to be lodged in it. It answered his views exactly. The wooden floors spread the flames widely, and except what the soldiers dragged out, and their exertions were wonderful, all was consumed. Lord Cornwallis generously acknowledged that I had early predicted this misfortune, and I believe wished that he had attended to what I had said, more than he did at the time. It is supposed to have been occasioned by the fire of the coopers, who, as well as painters, carpenters, turners, and smiths, all worked under these wooden floors; so that as a forge did set fire to a beam, since His Lordship came here, it did not require the spirit of prophecy to predict what might be expected. I was attending all the time, but all that could be done was to save a few movable things,—one solitary engine could not oppose flames, spreading along dry oak floors, and dry stores of all kinds. Upon the whole it is a lesson well bought, and cheaply too. I am not the worse or the better for my exertions. May health attend you, and a speedy deliverance from the hands of your enemies make glad our hearts, and confer happiness and honour upon yourself!"

"I am,
Yours faithfully,
T. D. PEARSE."

"FORT WILLIAM :
11th March 1789."

We find on the same day a letter to Sir Joseph Banks:—

"SIR,

"I have commissioned my son to be the bearer of this letter, and of the first volume of the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society*, and to request that you will do me the honour to accept it."

"I hope my son will execute his commission properly, but more that you will suffer his youth to plead for him, if he should appear to be a little deficient or abashed."

"A gentleman who traded to Bencoolen, brought me a plant of indigo of that island. I call it indigo because it yields a blue dye, but by the help of the microscope I have examined it, and proves to be an apocynum. I have called it *apocynum territorum*, and I think it will be valuable. I have also met with another of that genus, which produces greenish and yellow flowers in bunches and has a most fragrant perfume, like *mignonnette*. This I have called *apocynum amœnum*. It is here known by the name of the 'Pegu flower,' and at Madras by the name of the 'West Coast Creeper.' I will trouble you hereafter, with seeds, drawings, and descriptions."

11th March."

"I am, &c.,

T. D. PEARSE.

Colonel Pearse mentions in a letter to Charles Purvis, Esq., that on the fatal night of the fire (9th March), he was under the influence of mercury, exposure to the night air may have assisted the progress of disease, in terminating his valuable life. No letter of a later date than the 11th of March appears, and it is probable that all correspondence was interrupted by sickness. Colonel Pearse lived to the month of June, and died on the 15th of the month.

The following epitaph is to be found upon Colonel Pearse's tomb in the great Burial ground of Calcutta.

Sacred to the Memory of
THOMAS DEANE PEARSE, ESQ.

Late Colonel in the service of
the Honourable East India Company.

He was an officer of the Royal Artillery in 1757, was present at the sieges of Gaudaloupe, the Havannah, and Bellisle. In 1768 he came to India with the rank of Major of Artillery, and in 1769 he succeeded to the command of the corps, which he retained till his death. He marched a detachment to join the army under Sir Eyre Coote, in the Carnatic, and served there during the war, and returned to Bengal in 1785: and for the last three years of his life he was Senior Officer of the Bengal Army. In his public capacity he distinguished himself by his abilities and unwearied attention to the duties of his station, and to the general interests of those he commanded. As an individual he was respected for the benevolence of his disposition, and for the warmth of his friendship.

He died on the 15th June,

1789,

Aged 47 years.

Upon the death of Colonel Pearse the Officers of the Artillery Regiment, erected a handsome column of the Corinthian order, at the station of Dum Dum.

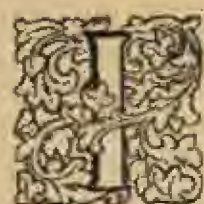
The following inscription is cut upon a tablet which is let into the dye, upon which the column stands:—

To the
Memory
of
THOMAS DEANE PEARSE,
Colonel Commandant of
Artillery,
This Column is
erected by
the Officers of
the Brigade
in testimony of their
respect.
MDCCXC



The Lettres Edifiantes on Bengal.

TRANSLATED BY THE REV. H. HOSTEN, S.J.



N pursuance of the Editor's Intention of publishing in *Bengal: Past and Present* the ancient missionary accounts pertaining to Bengal, I have examined the two first volumes of *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses* dealing with India, *i.e.*, Volumes X and XI of the edition of 1781 and have translated what concerns Bengal. In subsequent numbers of the Review I purpose to do the same for the remaining volumes XII—XV. The edition of 1781 offers the advantage of following the chronological order.

The earliest letter is by Father Peter Martin, S.J., and is dated Balasore, 30th January 1699. Though a portion of it is concerned with the Madura Mission, I translate the letter *in extenso*, not omitting the somewhat quaint original notes (*Vol. X, pp. 36-53*).

Follows a short extract from a letter of Father Guy Tachard, S.J. (*Vol. X, pp. 336-337*).

Volume XI contains two letters of Father Gervais Papin, S.J., the former dated: At Bengal [Chandernagore], 18th December 1709, and dealing with Bengali crafts and medicines (*Cf. pp. 253-261*); the second dated: at Chandernagore of Bengal, 1711, and continuing the subject of the Bengali pharmacology (*Cf. pp. 261-269*). These two letters I omit, as being too technical and containing no historical matter.

Father Peter Faure's letter (17th January 1711) announces his and Father Bonnet's attempt to evangelize the Nicobar Islands. It is the first known expedition of the kind into one of the yet wildest portions dependent on Bengal and was not less ill-starred than Abbate Sidotti's bold endeavour to penetrate into Japan, of which Father Faure gives us an excellent account. (*Cf. pp. 270-292*.)

To this we add an extract from a letter by Father Taillandier relating the death at Quedda of one Martin, a French Pilot, who had murdered his Captain, an Englishman. (*Cf. pp. 411-412*.)

We hardly think it necessary to apologise for the literalness of these translations. Fidelity and correctness, rather than elegance, must be the object of the translator; or else, he will sacrifice the charming simplicity of these ancient relations to mere literary dilettantism.

[p. 36.] *Letter of Father Peter Martin,* Missionary of the Society of Jesus, to Father de Villette of the same Society.*

AT BALASSOR, IN THE KINGDOM OF BENGAL.

The 30th January 1699.

REVEREND FATHER,

P. C. [Pax Christi.]

I have been given the letters you took the trouble of writing to me. I shall not tell you what pleasure I felt in receiving these tokens of your kind remembrance. It is sweeter than you think to learn, in these extremities of the world, that our friends do not forget us, & that, while we are fighting, they raise their hands to Heaven, & help us with their prayers. I assure you, I was greatly in need of them since I left you, & I have found myself in occasions which would appear to you very [37] delicate & very difficult, if I could mention them here.

I came to the Indies by order of my Superiors. I shall confess to you that I had no regret in leaving Persia, my attraction being for another Mission, where I believed there would be still more to suffer & more to work. I found what I was looking for quicker than I had thought. During the voyage I was taken by the Arabs, & kept a prisoner for having refused to make profession of Mohammedanism. However anxious those infidels might be to know who we were, Father Beauvillier,† my companion, & I, they

* Father Peter Martin (born at Limoges, 5th February 1665; entered at Bordeaux, 5th September 1680; taught Grammar and Humanities; Professor of Rhetoric, 5 years; left for the Mission of Greece and Persia in 1695; in Bengal in 1697, since it appears from this letter that he had been at least 21 months in Bengal before January 1699; made his profession, 15th August 1598; at Pondichery in September 1699 (*Cl. Lettres Édif.*, X, p. 96); admitted into the Madura Mission on the Feast of the Holy Trinity, 1699 (*Cl. ibid.*, p. 147); was sent to Rome as Procurator of the Pondichery Mission; died at Rome, 28th June 1716, according to Jesuit papers and the printed Necrology of that year, not in 1717, as stated erroneously in *Lettres Édif.*; 12th fascic., preface (1st Ed.), *Cl. C. SOMMERVOGEL*, Lj., *Op. cit.*, and *Catal. Miss. Madur.*, Trichinopoly, 1910, pp. 53-58. Cf. also W. JAVINE, *Starks de Neger*, s.v. Martin.

† Father Anthony de Beauvillier (Beauvilliers?); born at Blaye (Gironde), 2nd June 1657; entered the Province of Aquitaine, 7th September 1672; arrived in China in 1699; while returning to Europe, was shipwrecked and drowned, off the Coast of Portugal, in January 1708. (*Cl. C. SOMMERVOGEL*, Lj., *Op. cit.*; *Catal. PP. et FF. qui... in Sini collaboraverunt*, Shanghai, 1892, p. 21, and P. VISSCHERS, *Omnigegen heten van veertig Paters der Sociëit van Jesu... Arahem*, Wm., 1857, p. 80). There are several conflicting accounts for the date of his departure from Europe. From a note by the late Father J. B. Van Meers, S.J., I learn that he was to be one of Father Tachard's party, which was to sail from France in 1695, and that he was at Surat with Father Philip d'Arès in 1697-98. From Father Martin's letter it is clear that he came to Surat by Persia. Probably, the two left France together in 1695. According to Father Martin's account, they must have reached Surat in 1697, the year when Father Tachard finally arrived at Pondichery with Frs. Gerv. Papin, Peter Quebécin, Peter Mandoh, Marcellin Michel, Dominique Tarpin (*ibid.*) and Bro. Claudius Mortier. On the other hand, Sommervogel, after stating (*Vol. I, Col. 2083*) that he went to the Armenian Missions, adds (*Vol. 1777, Col. 1789*) that he had left for Persia in 1693 with Fathers Auguste de Blanc, Superior-General

could not succeed, & they always thought we were from Constantinople.* What deceived them was that they saw us read Turkish & Persian books. We left them in this error, until one of them took it into his head to exact from us a profession of their accursed sect. Then we openly declared ourselves Christians, though still without revealing our country. We spoke even very strongly against their impostor Mohammed, & this indisposed them so greatly against us that they seized the ship, although it belonged [38] to Moors. They brought us on land, & cast us into prison. They made us appear several times, the Father & myself, before the Magistrates, to try to seduce us; but, finding us always, with the mercy of God, firm & resolute, they grew weary of molesting us, & sent an express messenger to the Governor of the Province, to know what they should do with us. They were ordered to put us at liberty, provided we were not *François*,† i.e. Europeans. They hardly suspected that we were, because we were always speaking Turkish, & because Father Beauvillier read only Arabic books, & a few Persian ones. So the Lord did not judge us worthy, on this occasion, to suffer death for the glory of His holy name, and we got off after enduring imprisonment, & some other ill-treatments.

From there we came to *Surat*,‡ where Father Beauvillier remained to be Superior of the house we have there: [39] As for me, I did not stop there, but passed on to *Bengal*,§ after running more than once the risk of falling into the hands of the Dutch.||

of the Mission, and de Bero, with the letter of whom he was to be sent to Tartary. Sommervogel even attributes to him a letter dated Ispahan, 14th September 1693, and published in the *Mémoires galants*, Nov. 1694.—Cf. W. LARINA, *Storia di Algeri*, IV. 146 n. 2, 259 n. In the letters of the China Missionaries, I find his name written regularly *Commissaire*.

* The two Missionaries must have travelled in Turkish costume, a practice not uncommon in those days.

† For the interesting history of this word, Cf. *Histoire de l'Inde*, p. 10. Firinghee. Bernier also writes *Françai* (c. 1660).

‡ "The most famous town in the East Indies for its commerce. It belongs to the Great Mogol." For a letter from Surat (28th January 1701) by Father Digne, Cf. *Lettres Edif.*, Vol. X, pp. 231-33. Cf. also W. LARINA, *Storia di Algeri*, IV., p. 291, on the difficulties caused by the French Jesuits settling at Surat, where the Capuchins were established already. There is a Ms. letter of Fr. John Peter Levert, S. J., addressed from Ombé, 15th February 1700, to the Very Rev. Fr. Gonxalves, General of the Society, stating that he had sought to establish a Missionary station at Surat. Fathers Digne and Charenton had been sent to help him, but the plan did not succeed. The Provincial of Goa did not approve of it. He would have liked to see them establish themselves inland in Mogor, a step to which Fr. Tachard, their Superior, objected. In another letter of June 9, 1699, Father Levert explains to the General his intention of reopening the Mission of Ethiopia. On his way to Cairo he met with difficulties at Maseurah, but he did not despair of getting into Abyssinia. In 1700-01 he was at Vienna; in 1701-02, at Marseilles, where he died, Jan. 6, 1725.

§ "This Kingdom is to the East of Indiam, & belongs to the Great Mogol."

|| It is clear from this that Fr. Martin did not come to Bengal across country. There was no anger to be feared from the Dutch except at sea.

As soon as I had arrived into this beautiful kingdom, which is under the dominion of the Mohammedans, though nearly the whole people is given to idolatry, I applied myself earnestly to learning the Bengali tongue (*la langue Bengale*). At the end of five months, I found myself skilful enough to disguise myself, & cast myself into a famous University of Brahmans.* As we have had so far but very slight knowledge of their Religion, our Fathers wished me to remain in it two or three years that I might get fully acquainted with it. I had resolved on the plan, & was ready to execute it, when suddenly there arose so violent a war between the Mohammedans and the Gentiles that there was security nowhere, especially for Europeans.† But God, on such occasions, endows one with a strength one does not understand.

[40] As I hardly feared the danger, my Superiors allowed me to enter a neighbouring kingdom called *Orissa*,‡ where in the space of sixteen months I had the happiness of baptizing nearly a hundred persons, some of whom were more than sixty years old.

I hoped, with the grace of God, to reap in the future a more abundant harvest; but, all we could obtain was to take care of a kind of Parish erected in the principal settlement which the royal Company of France has in Bengal.§

As this Mission is not without labourers, our Superiors decided to send me with three of our Fathers to *Pondichery*|| the only somewhat fortified

* "These are the Doctors [divines] of the Indians." This must have been the University of Nadia. Cf. *Bengal: Past & Present*, 1910, Vol. II, p. 217.

† In 1695-96, a Hindu Zamindar of the Bardwan District, Sobha Singh, dissatisfied with the Rajah of Bardwan, invited an Afghan Chief of Orissa, Rahim Khan, to join forces with him. They killed the Rajah, started plundering the country and took Hugli. This gave occasion to the Europeans of Chittagong, Chandernagore and Chittagong (Calcutta) to rise with arms and batons round their factories. In 1696, the rebels were masters of Nadia and Murshidabad. On the death of Sobha Singh, Rahim Khan, adopting the title of Bahadur Singh, headed the rebels. They came to within ten miles of Calcutta and had an army of 12,000 cavalry and 30,000 infantry (1697). While Asaf-ud-Daula, the Emperor's grandson, hastened to the rescue of the Province, Zahardat Khan, son of the Nawab of Dacca, came from Dacca to oppose them, and, by May 1697, he had inflicted on them a severe defeat. The revolt was eventually quelled in 1698 by the death of Rahim Khan. Cf. C. STEWART, *History of Bengal*, London, 1813, pp. 328-342; *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. III, pp. 338-359; WATSON, *Early Annals*, Vol. I, p. 147-157.

‡ Orissa. "This Kingdom is on the Bay of Bengal, on this side of the Ganges."

§ Chandernagore. In 1673 Bontoux-Destandes had bought for Rs. 401 the concession of an *ahda* in the village of "Baraguchampour" (Hugli?). Cf. CAYONNET DES FOES, *Annales de l'Estrie Orient et de l'Afrique*, 1836, p. 324. Under the year 1691, we find that he moved from Hugli to Chandernagore, where he built a *legr*, of which Pere Ducloux, S.J., made the plans. In 1698, the Bishop of Malaga erected the Church of Notre Dame of Chandernagore into a parish, thus dismembering it from the Augustinian Church of Bandel. It was placed under the care of the French Jesuits. Cf. W. HUTTON in *Bengal: Past and Present*, 1910, Vol. I, p. 342.

|| "Situated half way up the Coromandel Coast." It was taken from the French in 1693.

place which the French have in the Indies. About five years ago, the Dutch took possession of it. We have there a rather pretty Church, of which we shall resume possession when the French will re-enter the place.*

[41] There we shall be, my dear Father, at the gates of the *Madurat* Mission, in my opinion, the most beautiful in the world. Seven Jesuits, nearly all Portuguese, labour there indefatigably with incredible success & difficulty.† Those Fathers proposed to me, more than eighteen months ago, that I should offer myself to go & share their labours. Had I been able to dispose of myself, I should willingly have done so, but our Superiors did not consider it advisable, because they want us to establish on our part French Missions, & to occupy in these vast Kingdoms those parts which our Portuguese Fathers cannot cultivate because of their small number.‡ Our Superior-General, the Reverend Father de la Breuille,§ who is actually in the Kingdom of *Siam*, has just told me so in his last letter. He puts me in charge of the Mission of *Pondichery*, & lets me hope that, before long, he will allow me to push inland, what I have long wished for.

[42] By the last letters received from Europe, it is said that I am destined for China; but I easily renounce to that Mission, on the promise I am given, that they will make me pass at once into that of *Madura*, which, I confess it, has long since fascinated me. As soon as I was in Persia, I often directed my wishes towards that country, without having then any hope of seeing them fulfilled. But I begin to believe that those wishes, so ardent & conceived so far away, proceeded only from a good source. I have always felt them growing & gaining strength, the nearer I come to that happy goal. You will have no difficulty to understand why I feel so strongly drawn towards it, when I tell you that that Mission counts more than one hundred fifty thousand Christians, & that a very great number is daily converted.¶ Each Missionary baptizes at least a thousand a year. Father Bouchet,** who has laboured there these ten or twelve years, writes that for

* It was dedicated to Our Lady's Conception. Cf. LAUNAY, *Hist. des Miss. de l'Inde*, Paris, 1898, I, p. XXXI.

† *Madura* is a Kingdom situated inland, in the Great Peninsula of India, which is on this side of the Ganges."

‡ In 1688, there were eight Missionaries in the *Madura* Mission; in 1694, they were seven only; but, in 1691, they were nine.

§ The expulsion of the French Jesuits from *Siam* led subsequently to their Missions in the Carnatic Cf. [FATHER KROOT] *Hist. of the Telugu Christians*, Trichinopoly, 1910.

¶ For some references to him belonging to 1705 and subsequently, Cf. W. JAVIER, *Storia de Madag.*, IV, 305, 326, 361, 361 n. 1, 362.

¶ An official letter of 1697 states that the Christians of the *Madura* Mission were more than 100,000.

** Father John Venerius Bouchet; born at Fontenay-le-Comte, 12th April 1655; entered the Province of Aquitaine, 31st October 1670; taught Grammar, Humanities and Rhetoric; left for the *Madura* Mission about 1683; became Superior of the Carnatic Mission; and died either on 13th March

his part he baptized two thousand of them this year, & that he has administered this first sacrament to three hundred in one day; so that his arms dropped with fatigue & [43] exhaustion. Besides, they are not, he says, Christians like those elsewhere in the Indies. They are baptized only after great probations, & three or four months of instruction. Once Christian, they live like Angels, & the Church of *Madura* appears a true picture of the nascent Church. This Father asserts that it has at times happened to him to hear the confessions of several villages, without finding any one guilty of a mortal sin. Do not imagine, he adds, that either ignorance or shame prevents their manifesting their conscience at this sacred tribunal; they approach it as well instructed as Religious, & with the candour & simplicity of Novices.‡

The same Father notes that he is in charge of more than thirty thousand souls, so that he has not a moment of rest, & cannot stay more than even eight days in the same locality. It would be impossible to him, as to the other Fathers, considering their small number, to see to every thing themselves. Hence, they have each eight, ten, & sometimes twelve Catechists, all of them persons of prudence, & thoroughly [44] instructed in our mysteries & our holy Religion. These Catechists precede the Fathers by a few days and dispose the people towards the reception of the sacraments, their work facilitating greatly the administration of them to the Missionaries. One cannot refrain from tears of joy and consolation, when one sees the eagerness of these people for the word of God, the respect with which they listen to it, the ardour with which they come to all the exercises of piety, their zeal in procuring to one another all the helps necessary to salvation, in forestalling one another's wants, & outstripping one another in holiness, in which they make marvellous progress. They have scarcely any of the difficulties met with by people elsewhere, because they have no relations with Europeans, some of whom have spoiled & corrupted by their excesses & their bad examples nearly all the Christians of the Indies. Their life is extremely sober; they do not engage in trade; but are satisfied with what their lands afford them in the way of food & raiment.

on 14th July 1732. On 12 December 1700, he wrote from *Madura* that he had baptized more than 11,000 persons during the five previous years and more than 20,000 since his arrival in the Mission. *Cl. Lettr. Édif.*, 1781, Vol. X, p. 151, and W. LIVING, *Storia da Mogor*, 2.2. Banchieri.

‡ See what Father Marin himself wrote from *Aloor* (*Madura Mission*) on 11th December 1700. (*Lettres Édif.*, Vol. X, pp. 196-197.) In one day he baptized 78 persons: the next day 137. He was so tired from the exertion it entailed that he had no get his arms supported and had hardly any voice left.

§ Fr. Barthier, in his letter from *Pinnampandy*, 7th January 1720, (*Cl. Lettres Édif.*, 1781, Vol. III., p. 188) makes a no less glowing eulogy of his Christians; but, *Pabbé A. Lamy* believes it should not be taken to the letter, or else: the present day Christians have greatly changed! *Cl. Hist. . . .* *Mad.* *de l'Inde*, I, p. XX1.

The life of the Missionaries could not [45] be more severe nor more trying to nature. Often they have for all dress only a long piece of linen in which to wrap themselves. They wear sandals which are more uncomfortable than the socks of the Recollects: these are fixed merely by a kind of thick pin with a knob securing the two first toes of each foot to this footgear. One has the greatest trouble in the world to get used to it.* They abstain altogether from bread, wine, eggs, & every kind of meat, & even of fish. They may eat only rice & vegetables without any seasoning, & it is very difficult to keep a little flour to make hosts with & what wine is needed to celebrate the holy sacrifice of the Mass. They are not known as Europeans: if people thought they are, they would have to leave the country, for they would do no good whatever. There is more than one reason for this horror of the Indians for Europeans. Deeds of great violence have often been committed in their country: they have seen frightful examples of every sort of debauchery & vice; but what strikes them [46] in particular is that the *Français*, as they call them, get drunk & eat meat, & this is such a horrible thing in their eyes that they regard as infamous those who do it.

To the austere life led by the Missionaries add the continual danger they are in of falling into the hands of robbers, who are more numerous there than among even the Arabs. They would hardly dare to keep anything under lock & key, for fear of rousing the suspicion that they have anything precious. They are obliged to carry about & keep all their little movables in earthen pots. They call themselves *Northern Brahmans*, that is to say, Doctors come from the North to teach the law of the true God.† Though they are compelled to practise a very rigorous poverty, & though they require little themselves, still they need rather large funds to keep up their Catechists, & meet no end of expenses and molestations to which they are subjected. They often suffer real persecutions. Only four years ago, one of our most famous & saintly Missionaries [47] was martyred.‡ The Prince of *Maravar*§ had him beheaded for having preached the law of Jesus Christ. Alas! might I ever hope a like favour? I beseech you, my very dear Father, never to cease asking our Lord, yourself & your friends, to convert me to Him in earnest,

* One of the Madura Missionaries wrote somewhere in *Lettres Édifi.* that he had found it more difficult to learn walking than talking.

† They called themselves properly *Romavari* [Romapuri] *Sompatri*: Roman penitents. Cf. *Lettres Édifi.* Vol. X, pp. XIII, 328, and W. IRVING, *Storia de Madag.* s.v. "Romapuri," where the derivation of the word is discussed. Mr. W. R. Phillips' explanation is the simplest.

‡ "The venerable Father John de Belto, a Portuguese Jesuit." He was martyred at Oriss, 4th February 1693. Cf. W. IRVING, *Storia de Madag.* and SCHNEERVOGEL.

§ "A small Kingdom between Madura and the Fiberry Coast." Narava.

& that I may not make myself unworthy of suffering something for His glory.

It will be a pleasure to me to inform you at greater length of whatever concerns that excellent Mission, when I shall have the happiness of knowing it personally. If among the virtuous souls whom you lead so well in the way of the Lord, there were any willing to contribute in these countries to His glory by making a foundation for some Catechists, I assure you before God that never can money be better employed. The upkeep of a Catechist costs us yearly eighteen or twenty crowns, (it is much [48] for us, it is little in France), & we may reckon that every Catechist gains yearly one hundred & fifty or two hundred souls to Jesus Christ. My God, there are so many zealous persons that would willingly give their blood to snatch only one soul from the clutches of Satan; so at least people often say at the foot of the Altar. Will none be found willing, & with so paltry an assistance help us to fill the fold of the father of the household? I know your zeal for the conversion of souls, my very dear Father; you devoted yourself to go to Greece and bring back to the flock of Jesus Christ the poor Schismatics who separated from it so long ago. The weak state of your health obliged the Superiors to make you retrace your steps. Doubtless, you will have brought back to your Province all the zeal which made you quit it so generously. I beseech you, apply that zeal which devours you to procuring us Missionaries & Catechists. Until now I had not written a single letter to invite anyone to come & help us in our labours, because on my way I saw no harvest which had not labourers enough. Now that I [49] discover whole fields ripe for the sickle, infidels by thousands who ask but to be instructed, I call with all my might on people in Europe to send us help in men & money, good Missionaries, and funds to give them Catechists; & I believe myself in conscience bound to interest in so good a work all those whom I know to be able to assist us. I see no one, Reverend Father, who might better than you enter into such pious designs. If you find some help for us, send it to Paris to the Father in charge of our Missions of the East Indies & China.

In the year 1698, Father Bouvet* led to China a flourishing contingent of Missionaries. The King's squadron brought hither † a small but quite select

* Father Joachim Bouvet, born at le Mans, 18th July 1656, entered the Noviciate, 11th October 1673; was one of the first Jesuit mathematicians sent to China by Louis XIV in 1685; arrived in China, 23rd July 1687, and at Peking, 7th February 1688; returned to Europe in 1697; went back to the Mission, where he arrived in 1699; died at Peking, 23rd June 1730. Cf. C. SOMMERVOGEL, S.J., *Op. cit.*, and *Catal. PP. et FF. qui in Sinit. adiutoriarunt*, Shanghai, 1892.

† To Balasore, as I understand it. Cf. the note on Father Papis, p. 11.

band of them, also destined for that vast empire : it is composed of Fathers Fouquet,* Pelisson, † & d'Entrecolle, ‡ & Brothers Rhodes § & Fraperie, || who are very skilful in Medicine & Surgery. They are all eminently qualified & truly deserve to go & labour in so fair a field. Father d'Entrecolle was admirable [50] in his zeal & charity on board the ship that brought him. Here in India, ¶ the King's squadron was visited with a terrible mortality.

A great part of the crews died, I was a hundred leagues away from the place where they had landed. As soon as I learned so great a calamity, I threw myself with Father d'Entrecolle into a sloop (*chaloupe*) & hastened to their help. When we arrived, we found two Almoners dead, all the Surgeons of the ships were also dead or ill ; so that during two months we were obliged to do duty as Doctors, Surgeons, Almoners & Infirmarians. The *Monsoon*** urged Father d'Entrecolle to leave with Father Fouquet & Brother Fraperie, who had also come after us to the help of the King's ships : so that, for a pretty long time, I was nearly alone, having on my arms more than five hundred invalids, several of whom suffered from contagious diseases. Two others of our Fathers next came to share so holy a labour, & profit [51] of an opportunity we did not expect to find in the Indies, that of serving so usefully the French, our dear countrymen.

The hand of God weighed heavily on them ; it is a kind of miracle that they could save the King's ships, I do not say all, for *l'Indien*, one of the

* Father John Francis Fouquet : born at Astin, or in the diocese, 12th March 1663 ; entered the Society, 17th September 1681 ; left for China where he arrived, 24th June 1699 ; recalled to Europe about 1720, for his opinions on the Chinese rites ; arrived at Rome in 1722 ; left the Society after 8th April 1723 ; became Bishop of Eleutheropolis in March 1725 ; died about 1740. Cf. *ibid.*

† Father John Francis Pelisson : born at Gallargues, 19th September 1657 ; entered religion, 9th September 1678 ; went to China, where he arrived in 1699 ; returned to Europe in 1710 ; and at Toulouse, 3rd August 1713. Cf. *ibid.*

‡ Father Francis Xavier d'Entrecolles : born at Lyons, 3th February 1662 (elsewhere, 1 find 1664) ; entered religion, 5th April 1681 ; arrived in China, 24th June 1699 ; died at Peking, end July 1741. Cf. *Catal. supra cit.*

§ Brother Bernard Rhodes : a Frenchman, (*Apamianis*) ; born 15th July 1646 ; entered religion 15th July 1674 ; was destined to China already in 1690 ; arrived in that Mission in 1699 ; died at Peking, 10 (11) November 1715. Cf. *Catal. supra cit.*, and MS. notes of Fr. J. B. Van Meurs, S. J.

|| Brother Peter Frapperie : a Frenchman ; born in 1664 ; entered religion in 1686 ; arrived in China, 7th August 1700 ; died at Peking, end November 1703. Cf. *Catal. cit.*

¶ "At Negrellien, an island near the coast of Pegou." Cf. *Lettr. Édifi.* X, p. 57. Negrellien is now spelt *Negrin*. Cf. *Hobbes-John*.

** "The season to go from India to China, when the western winds are blowing."

finest, ran aground on the coasts of *Pagan*,* where the others caught the infection; only one, which separated from the rest to carry to *Merguy*† Fathers Tachard; & de la Breuille, got off without accident. That great calamity touched several of those on the fleet, & helped to put them into the way of salvation. There were among them some new converts who were more than ever attached to their errors. I had the consolation of receiving their abjuration, & seeing them die in sentiments of deep compunction and penance. The squadron, though reduced by one ship, is at present in good condition.§

[52] After a few days we shall take possession of *Pondichery*. God grant me to remain there only as much as will be required to learn a little the language of the country which is necessary to me for my dear *Madura* Mission. That language is altogether different from Turkish, Persian, Moorish,|| & the Bengali (*Bengale*), which I have learnt already; Persian & Moorish will be of great use to me, because of a great number of Mohammedans scattered within the country. I shall also require Portuguese to deal with our Fathers of that Nation; I was obliged to learn it, because I found myself in charge of more than a thousand Portuguese of the Indies, who for more than six months were left without their Pastor.¶

While I took care of them, I was ordered by My Lord the Bishop of *Saint Thomé*** to publish the Jubilee & make them gain it; those good people did not know what a Jubilee was. During more than a month I laboured to enable them to profit by the treasures which the Church placed before them; I preached [53] two sermons a day, & gave two Catechisms; the morning was set aside for the instruction of the adult Catechumens, & the afternoon for that of the Christians; half the night was spent in hearing

* "A Kingdom on the East coast of the Bay of Bengal, beyond the *Ganges*." Captain A. Hamilton has the following on the loss of *l'Indien*: "About the year 1704 [*sic*] four French ships went to catechise the great Négrais, and turning in between the Islands, one ship of 70 guns called *l'Indien*, ran aground on some rocks lying on the inside of Diamond Island and was lost, but the rest saved the men, and all her portable furniture." Cf. *A new Account of the East Indies*, 1744, Vol. II, p. 30.

† "A town of the Kingdom of Siam, on the Bay of Bengal." Cf. *Hansen-Jensen*.

‡ Cf. on him, *Bengal: Past & Present*, 1910. Vol. II, pp. 217-218.

§ It was commanded by M. le Chevalier des Augers [Angiers], another captain being M. de la Roche-Harculte. des Augers had been sent off in 1698 to receive possession of *Pondichery*. After his cruise as far as Négrais, he returned, took possession of *Pondichery*, the final adjustment being reached on 15th September 1699. The French fleet left *Pondichery* at the end of September 1699 and landed Father Martin on the Travancore Coast. Cf. W. INYANA, *Storia de Malabar*, III. 407 n. 2, and *Letter*, *Mal.*, X, pp. 56-57.

|| Arabic.

¶ This was probably at Balasore. About 1683, there were at Balasore 700 Christians (*sales de confession*), not counting passengers and traders, who were many.

** "This town, which is also called *Malapour*, is on the Coromandel Coast."

the confessions of the men, & from dawn to nine o'clock, when I said Mass, I heard the confessions of the women. This great labour compensated me for the four years I had spent without being able to do anything but learn languages. I feel more ardour than ever to study that of *Madura*, because I am convinced that it will be more useful to me than all the rest. Of French I want to remember only just enough to write to you, to inform you of whatever will happen in these Missions and ask you the assistance of your prayers. Remember what you promised me when we parted, & be sure that, whenever I said holy Mass, I thought of you in particular. Let us help each other in sanctifying ourselves; & though we offer up our Sacrifice so far away from each other, let us always unite it in Him for Whom alone we offer it.

I am very respectfully, &c.

Extract from a letter of Father Tachard, Superior-General of the French Missionaries of the Society of Jesus, to the Reverend Father de la Chaise, of the same Society, Confessor to the King. (pp. 333-338.)

FROM PONDICHERY, 30th September 1703.

[336] Fathers Quenin,* Papin† & Baudré‡ are in the Kingdom of Bengal, where they are not without occupation. The last one came last year

* Father Peter Quenin: born in Saintonges, 13th March 1661; entered the Society, 11th September 1676; at Pau, where he studies logic ('78-9), physics ('79-80), metaphysics ('80-1); teaches at Pau, 3rd Grammar ('81-2), 2nd Grammar ('82-3), 1st Grammar ('83-4), Humanities ('84-5); at Agen, where he teaches Rhetoric ('85-6); studies Theology at Bordeaux ('86-90); at Agen where he lectures on Logic ('90-1) and Physics ('91-2); 3rd probation ('92-4); at Paris, where he prepares for the Missions ('94-5); on 25th March 1695, in the Church of St. Peter at Blavet (Britany), he makes his profession into the hands of Fr. Guy Tachard; then about to leave for India, and signs: "Quenin"; left France with Father Tachard in 1695; after a long journey (1696-97) reached Pondichery; in Siam with Fathers Tachard, Manduit, and Bro. Claude Morisset ('98-99); in Bengal ('99-1700); Superior at Chandernagore until his death, on 25th May 1706, at Chandernagore. In the Triennial Catalogue of 1690 he is said to have been born at Angoulême. (Notes by the late Father J. B. Van Meurs, S. J.) Angoulême is in the Saintonges Province. Cf. W. DEVISS, *Storia de Mezer*, Index, Vol. IV. Manucci relates some damaging and impossible stories about him.

† Father Germain Papin: born at le Mans, 12th September 1656; admitted, 9th March 1689; after his studies, left for India with Father Tachard ('95); at Pondichery ('97-8); in Bengal ('99-1700); still there in 1701-04; at Chandernagore in 1705; died, 3rd January 1712. (Cf. C. SOURDISVOUET, l.c., *Op. cit.*, Vol. VI, 185). Three of his letters of between 1701 and 1704 remain unpublished. In the second (Chandernagore, 10th February 1701), he writes to Father Verjus that he sends him a relation on the help given by the Jesuits to the French squadron at Balasore.

‡ Father Vincent Baudré: born at Saint-Mihiel, 17th December 1664; admitted into the Society, 16th October 1686; taught during 6 years Grammar, Humanities and Rhetoric; arrived in India in 1702, was in Bengal in 1703, and died in 1715. (Cf. C. SOURDISVOUET, l.c., *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, 1030 and VIII, 1779.) I modify some dates. He was a mathematician and astronomer. "I found in Bengal," wrote Father Durkamp in 1735, "several astronomical methods; there are two drawn up by Father Baudré; but, a part has been lost and the other is not always exact."

on the ships [337] of the Royal Company. His health did not allow him to enter into the Mission of the interior,* to which he ardently wished to devote himself.

The next letter in the *Lettres Edifiantes* is one by Father Peter Faure, S.J., relating his journey from France to Pondichery, and his attempt to evangelize the Nicobar Islands.

Father Peter Faure was born at Santerre, 13th September 1675. Admitted into the Society of Jesus on 14th September 1692, he taught Grammar and Rhetoric. On 5th November 1708 he left for China, *via* Mexico and the Philippines, then came to Pondichery where he offered himself to undertake a new Mission in the Nicobar Islands. The manner and date of his death and of his companion, Father Peter Bonnet, remain a mystery. Father C. Sommervogel's note in *Bibl. de la C. de J.*, that Father Faure died "in the Madura Mission" on 2nd November 1714, appears unacceptable.

The letter is in Vol. X. of the 1st Edn. pp. 47-77; in Vol. IV. (Edn. 1838), pp. 606-14, and in Father Stocklein's *Neue Weltbott*, Vol. V, No. 110, pp. 57-39.

[370.] *Letter of Father Faure, Missionary of the Society of Jesus, to Father de la Boësse, of the same Society.*

At the exit from the Strait of Malacca,
in the Bay of Bengal, on board the
Lys-Brillat, 17th January 1711.

REVEREND FATHER,

The Peace of Our Lord.

I left France with the intention of going to China, whither I was destined by my Superiors, & you are not ignorant of the particular attraction I felt towards that Mission. I am now so to say fixed in the East Indies, having undertaken to labour for the conversion of a new people inhabiting a rather large number of Islands in the Bay of Bengal, whither the light of the Gospel could not be carried heretofore. This change will surprise you, & perhaps you will not be displeased to learn what gave occasion to this new undertaking.

[271.] On the 5th of November 1708, I embarked with Father Cazalets† on *L'Aurore*, a frigate of the King's commanded by M. de la Rigaudiere, an Officer of real merit, who was full of kindness for us. He had shown himself equally courteous to several other Missionaries of our

* *Le*, the Mission of the Carnatic.

† Father Alexander Cazalets: a Frenchman, entered China in June 1711, and died at Canton in 1721. (*Cat.*, Shanghai, p. 25.) Cf. p. [282] of the present letter. Where were two Cazalets? One died at Pondichery in January 1719, where he had been ill a year. So wrote Fr. Ch. de la Breuille on January 20, 1719. [Note by Fr. L. Bense, S.J.]

Society whom he had taken to the Indies, & we could not enough express our gratitude to him.

Our ship was to take orders from the Court of Spain to various places of America. We went first to Carthagená, & then to Vera Cruz. Thence, we continued our journey on foot up to Mexico, where we joined several other Missionaries on the point of embarking for the Philippines.

We set sail on the 30th of March 1709, twenty-three Jesuits in number, & the 11th of June of the same year, we discovered the Marianne Islands,* consecrated by the blood of several of our Martyrs; the most illustrious of whom was the venerable Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores, the Founder of that Mission.† We halted there only the time required to take in [272] some refreshments; but, on leaving, we were not the same number of Jesuits: six were left there, who were absolutely wanted to relieve the ancient Missionaries, most of them worn out with age & unable to attend to the duties of their ministry.

After we had left the Marianne Islands, only three hundred leagues separated us from the Philippines. The flat calms which took us at the end of our voyage determined the Officers & the Pilots to make for the harbour of *Palapa*, where they intended remaining until the beginning of the monsoon. We were thus obliged to leave the ship & pass into small vessels, on which we could range very near along the coasts & pursue our voyage under shelter from the wind.

The people of the Philippines call these vessels *Caracoas*‡. It is a kind of small galley with oars & sails, having on the sides two wings made of big reeds to break the waves of the sea, & keep on the water. It is a dreary & dangerous method of travelling. During three weeks we were in greater danger of perishing than we [273] had been in during the seven months it had taken us to cross the vast seas to the north and south. Of the three *Caracoas*, on which the whole party of the Missionaries had been distributed, the biggest one was wrecked & the seven Jesuits who were on board would have been drowned but for the prompt assistance of the Indians who saved them swimming.

* Also called the *Ladronez* or *Ladron* Islands. They were called the Mariannes after Maria Anna of Austria, the widow of Philip IV, King of Spain, who sent Missionaries thither in 1665. *Cl. Diet. Gleg.* imprimé aux la dernière édition de l'abbé de Peller, tom. Mariannes.

† Father Diego Luis de Sanvitores: born at Burgos, 12th November 1627: entered the Society, 25th July 1647; after teaching Philosophy at Alcala, he embarked for Mexico, 14th May 1660: two years later he set sail for the Philippines and was the first to evangelize the Marianne Islands. On 22d April 1672, he was killed in hatred of the faith at Guam (Gushan), the principal island of the Mariannes. *Cl. G. SommerVOGEL*, 21., *Siècl. de la C. de J.*, Vol. VII., Col. 615.

‡ *Cl. HEDRUS-JESU* (1. 1., *Caracou, caracolla*): "The Malay *tera-tera* is a great row-boat still in use in the Moluccas. Many measure 100 feet long and 10 wide. Some have as many as 90 rowers."

The two other *Caracoas*, in one of which I was, were not spared by the storm. Unable to resist any longer the violence of the wind, & the fury of the waves, our Pilots scudded, & made for a harbour which we reached safely.

We pursued our journey by land to *Carite*,* a small town three leagues from Manila. We had the consolation of passing through several parishes of this new Christianity, which strikes me as the most flourishing in the whole of India. More than once I admired the fervour of those new converts to the faith, & their docility in listening to the voice of their Pastors. The young people of both sexes go regularly twice or three [274] times a day to the Church to get instructed in the principles of Religion, & sing the praises of God. The heads of families allow their homes to be governed by the advice of the Missionaries; hence, one sees hardly any disputes among them, or, if any arises, it is always settled without lawsuit, & generally to the satisfaction of the two parties. Nearly all those Islanders are divided into eight hundred parishes, directed by different Missionaries, whose labours are well rewarded by the great examples of virtue among their Neophytes.

When I think of the flourishing condition of that Mission, I consider it to be the fruit of the zeal & piety of the Kings of Spain, who, in conquering those Islands, had much more regard for the interests of Religion than for their own; if, indeed, the interests of a Christian Prince can be dissociated from those of Religion.

I attribute it next to the personal merit of the Ecclesiastics & the Religious who have until now cultivated & still cultivate that portion of the inheritance of Jesus Christ: for all the Communities in Manila [275] are particularly careful to furnish to that Mission none but excellent subjects, & their zeal has always been seconded by such regularity of conduct as to deserve for a very great many of them the glorious reputation of Saints & the precious surname of Apostles.

Lastly, it seems to me that what has most contributed to the welfare of the Church of the Philippines, is the division of all those Islands between the secular and the regular clergy, so that some are the sole Pastors of a Province, while the rest have no part in it. This ensures unalterable peace among all the Evangelical labourers: away from disputes & contestations, they busy themselves solely with the sanctification of the souls entrusted to them, & are as closely united to one another as if they were all of the same Order.

* Read: *Cavite*.

Nothing impressed me so much at Manilla as the extraordinary courage shown by the Abbé de Sidotti,* who has happily penetrated lately into Japan to preach the Gospel. The circumstances of his brave action are so edifying that I must enter into detail.

[276] Some years ago, that worthy Ecclesiastic left Rome, the place of his birth, to go to Manilla, from where he hoped to enter Japan more easily. He remained two years in the Philippines in the continual exercise of all the virtues of a truly apostolic man.†

Through the protection of the Governor of Manilla and with the alms he had collected, he had a ship built, & so he found himself in a position to execute his undertaking.

In the month of August of the year 1709, he left Manilla with D. Miguel de Eloriaga, a very experienced captain, who had offered to conduct him; & he arrived within sight of Japan on the 9th of October.‡ They went as near to the shore as they could. Having perceived a fishing boat, they were of opinion to send someone in the longboat to take information. They made use for this of a Pagan Japanese accompanying M. de Sidotti, who had promised to the Governor to enter Japan with the Missionary, & keep him hidden, if necessary. The Japanese boarded the fishing-boat, & spoke some time with the fishermen; [277] but their answer intimidated him so

* Cf. *The Month*, London, Longman, Green & Co., 1905, Vol. I, pp. 569-581 and Vol. II, pp. 20-37: *The Strange Story of the Abbate Sidotti* by Father H. Thurston, S. J. This extract from the *Lettres Edifiantes* on Abbate Sidotti escaped Fr. Thurston, though the greater part of it is quoted through Father de Charlevoix' *Histoire du Japon*, Levrain, 1828, Vol. I, pp. XIV-XXI, de Charlevoix quotes Father Faure in *Essai du Japon*, Paris, Nyon, 1754, Vol. VI., p. 55.

† He was born at Palermo, and had embarked with Mgr. de Tournon at Genoa early in 1703. "After sailing to India in a French frigate and delaying some time on the way, they set out again on July 11, 1704, for Manilla in the Philippines, which they reached in the September of the same year." Cf. *The Month*, 1905, Vol. I, p. 571. For some interesting details on his voyage from Pondichery to Manilla, Cf. W. JAYNE, *Stories of Major*, Vol. IV, n. Sidotti. We have in Maillard a short declaration by the Armenian Captain who took Sidotti to Manilla.

‡ The date is one year out, as appears from Fray Agustin de Madrid's and Valentyn's accounts and the Japanese chronicles. (Cf. *The Month*, 1905, Vol. I, pp. 573.-576; Vol. II, p. 21.) Sidotti left Manilla on Aug. 22, 1708, and on Oct. 9, sighted Japan. Arai Hakuseki writes that the ship was noticed on Oct. 10, 1708.

§ Father Peter Van Hamme, S.J., wrote from Peking on Jan. 9, 1708—a date which cannot be modified to 1709—"I learn through a letter from Manila.....that some shipwrecked Japanese arrived in Manila, and that the Spaniards kindly sent them back on a ship to Japan. They were accompanied by two priests: one, the Rev. Dom Sidotti, an Italian priest, who had come from Europe with His Lordship the Patriarch and remained in Manila; the other, a religious of the Order of St. Augustine. They will try whether on this occasion they can penetrate into Japan. God speed them!" (Cf. P. VUSCHNAR, *Contingenten briefen van eenige Paters der Societät van Jesus . . . in China*, Arnhem, Wink, 1857, pp. 73-74.) The voyage must have been postponed. As for the Augustinian Priest, it is evident from the accounts before us that he did not accompany Sidotti in August 1708.

greatly, that he would never allow the Spaniards to go nearer to the fishermen, though the latter showed by divers signs that there was nothing to fear.

The Japanese having returned to the ship, M. de Sidoti questioned him in the presence of the Spanish Officers. His only answer was that they would not be able to enter Japan without exposing themselves to the manifest danger of being discovered, that no sooner would they have set foot on land than they would be seized & taken before the Emperor, a cruel & blood-thirsty Prince, who would forthwith make them die amidst the worst tortures.

The trouble depicted on his face & some words which escaped him, made them judge that he had communicated M. de Sidoti's plan to the Japanese fishermen : whereupon the Abbé withdrew to some distance to pray to the Lord & ask Him to let him know which alternative he should choose. He recited his office with much composure, & then made his meditation.

About five o'clock in the evening, his prayers ended, he went to the Captain to inform him of his final resolution. [278] "The happy moment has come, Sir," he said, "which I have so many years sighed after : here we are at the gates of Japan, it is time to prepare everything to let me land in that long wished for country. You were kind enough to conduct me across a sea unknown to you, & notorious for so many shipwrecks ; kindly complete your work ; leave me alone among a people which, in truth, is hostile to the Christian name, but which I hope to bend to the yoke of the Gospel : I lean not on my own strength, but on the all-powerful grace of Jesus Christ & on the protection of so many Martyrs, who, last century, shed their blood in defence of His name."

Dom Eloriaga, though quite prepared to second M. l'Abbé de Sidoti's wishes, could not but represent to him that he thought it advisable to defer his landing a few days ; that it was likely his design was known to the fishermen with whom the Pagan Japanese had spoken ; that they would keep a watch on him, & seize him [279], the moment he would set foot in Japan ; finally, that there was no risk in seeking another spot where it would be safer for him to effect a landing.

These reasons made no impression on M. de Sidoti : he answered to the Captain that, the wind being favourable, he ought to profit by it ; that the more they would defer, the more they would expose him to being discovered ; that he had made up his mind & besought him to place no obstacle in the way of God's work. The Captain yielded to the Missionary's entreaties & had everything prepared to disembark him under cover of the night.

Meanwhile, M. l'Abbé de Sidoti wrote several letters : * he recited the rosary with all the people of the crew, as is practised on board Spanish vessels :

* Among his last letters was one to Pope Clement XI, which was duly delivered in the course of the next year.

he then addressed to them a short exhortation, at the end of which he asked publicly pardon from all the bystanders for the bad examples he might have given them, & in particular from the children, for not having instructed them with sufficient care in the principles of the Christian doctrine. [280.] Finally, he kissed the feet of the Officers, of the soldiers & slaves on board.

It was close to midnight, when he went down into the longboat with the Captain & seven other Spaniards who wished to accompany him. He remained in prayer all the time spent in crossing: at last, he got on land with some difficulty, because the bank where he was obliged to land, was very steep.

As soon as he had stepped out of the boat, he prostrated himself to kiss the ground, & thank God for the favour He had granted him in overcoming all the difficulties opposing his entrance into Japan. Those who accompanied him, wished to follow him somewhat inland. Dom Carlos de Bonio, who was among them, & who had been entrusted with M. l'Abbé de Sidoti's belongings, had the curiosity to see what the parcel contained: he opened it, & found in it, as his only chattels, a chapel, a box containing the Holy Oils, a breviary, the Imitation of Jesus Christ, two Japanese Grammars, some devotional books, a crucifix of Father Michael Mastrilly, the Jesuit,* a picture [281] of the Blessed Virgin, & divers engravings of Saints.†

When they had walked some time together, the time for the separation came. With much trouble Dom Eloriaga compelled M. l'Abbé de Sidoti to accept as an alms some gold coins, which he might stand in need of to gain the favour of the Japanese. While he pushed further into the interior, the Spaniards regained the shore, & took to their boat again. They reached their ship only about eight o'clock in the morning; & after running some danger from rocks & sandbanks, they arrived at last at Manilla on the 18th of October.

The same Captain Dom Eloriaga left last month with Father Sicardi & another Jesuit Missionary, in search of the Islands of *los Palaos*, otherwise

* Father Michael Mastrilli: born at Naples, 14th Sept. 1603: entered the Society, 25th March 1618. Having been cured by St. Francis Xavier in a miraculous apparition, he bound himself by vow to go to Japan. He left in 1635; but, scarcely had he set foot in the country (Aug. 1637), when he was seized, thrown in prison and subjected to the torture of water and that of the "pit." He was beheaded at Nagasaki, 17th Oct. (elsewhere: 1 Nov.) 1637. Cf. *Souvenirs*.

† "See at the end of this letter a note on the Abbé Sidoti. It is too long to be placed here at foot."

called the new Philippines.* Father Serrano,† with several other Jesuits, prepares to follow these two Missionaries, to [282] work with them for the conversion of a great people living on those newly discovered Islands.

On my arrival at Manila, I flattered myself with the thought of being soon in China, which I had so long wished for, & from which we were separated by only two hundred & fifty leagues. Some hindrances which arose determined me to go to the East Indies, & profit of the departure of a vessel which was setting sail for the Coromandel Coast. I separated from Father Cazalets,‡ who on his side, took measures with Father Nyel,§ to embark on the first vessels leaving Manila for China.

When taking my decision, I was undertaking to travel still more than sixteen hundred leagues; but the hope that my journey would be at an end in less than a year encouraged me. Indeed, it came to an end quicker and otherwise than I anticipated; for, shortly after my arrival in the Indies, I entered into new engagements with the Superiors of those parts, with a view of executing a project formed long ago to announce Jesus Christ to the Infidels of the Nicobar Islands.

[283]. Those Islands are situated at the entrance to the great Bay of Bengal, opposite one of the mouths of the Strait of Malacca. They reach

* Cf. *Lettres Édif.* (Éd. 1781), Vol. XI, pp. 353-363: *Rélation en forme de Journal de la découverte des Îles de Palaos, ou Nouvelles Philippines*. The same article is reproduced *ibid.*, Vol. XV., pp. 321-321.

On 14th Nov. 1710, the Jesuit Fathers James Duberon, Joseph Cortyl, Bro. Stephen Bandin, and the Anonymous author of the above Relation, left the Philippines in search of the Palaos Islands, now called the Pelew Islands. They were on board *The Holy Trinity*, commanded by Sergeant-Major Don Francis Padilla, and carrying a crew of 86 men. On 30th Nov. they sighted land. On 5th December, Fathers Duberon and Cortyl and 12 or 14 men of the crew landed on the Island of Sonserol (Pelew Islands) to plant a cross; but, while they were thus engaged, their ship was carried away by currents. In 1722 the Jesuits of the Marianne Islands were still ignorant of their fate. Cf. *Lettres Édif.*, XV., pp. 302, 213, 282 and *ibid.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 165-68; P. VITICORAN, *Omnipecten Irrenon* . . . , Op. cit., pp. 115, 119, and PADRE FRAY JUAN DE LA CONCEPCION, *Hist. Gen. de las Philipinas*, 1790, Vol. IX, pp. 151-153.

† Father Andrew Serrano: born at Murcia, 15th Oct. 1655, entered the Novitiate, 13th June 1670; embarked for the Philippines in 1671; taught Grammar, Philosophy, and Theology; was Rector of Silang, Socine to the Provincial and Vice-Rector of Manila. He was sailing towards the Palaos, when he perished in a shipwreck on 18th Oct. 1711. Cf. *Lettres Édif.*, 1781, Vol. XV, p. 211, and C. SOMMERVOGEL, S. J., Vols. VII. and IX.

‡ Father Cazalets arrived in China in June 1711, with Father Philip Canier, a Belgian, born at Meulen, and Father Nyel. Cf. *Catal. PP. et FF. S. J. qui . . . in Sini miseracionem*, Shanghai, 1899, p. 23.

§ Father John Xavier Armand Nyel; born at Vitry-le-François, 7th May 1670; entered the Novitiate, 28th Oct. 1686; taught Rhetoric at Pont-à-Mousson; left S. Mals for China, 26th Dec. 1705; stayed some time in Peru, and arrived in China only in 1711; returned to Europe and died at Madrid, 26th Sept. 1738.

from the seventh degree to about the tenth of latitude north. The chief of these Islands is called *Nicobar*, & it gives its name to all the others, though they have a particular name besides. Considering that the vessels of the Indies cast anchor off it, & that its inhabitants appear more tractable than those of the other Islands, we have thought it expedient to make in it our first settlement.

This is what I have learned about those Islands, according to the report of those who have some knowledge of them. The Island of *Nicobar* is only thirty leagues distant from *Achen*.* The soil, like that of the other Islands, is rather fertile in different kinds of fruits; but, it produces neither corn, nor rice, nor any other kind of grain; the people live on fruits, fish, & very insipid roots called *yams* (*ignames*.) They keep, however, pretty large quantities of poultry (*poules*) & pigs;† but, the Islanders do not eat them; they barter them, when any vessel passes, against iron, tobacco & [284] cloth; they sell in the same way their fruits, & their parrots which are greatly esteemed in India, because none speak so distinctly. One finds also amber & tin, & this sums up all their wealth.

Concerning the Religion of the Nicobarese (*Nicobarins*), I have succeeded in learning only that they worship the moon, & that they are in great fear of demons of whom they have some rude notion. They are not divided into different castes or tribes, as the people of Malabar & Coromandel. Even the Mohammedans have not been able to penetrate among them, though they have spread so easily all over India, to the great prejudice of Christianity. They have no public monuments consecrated to religious worship. There are only some caves in the rocks, for which those Islanders have great veneration, & which they dare not enter for fear of being molested by the devil.

I shall tell you nothing of the manners, polity & form of government of the Nicobarese. No one has penetrated far enough into the country to be well acquainted with it. If I am happy enough [285] to be listened to by them, & to make them relish the truths I am about to preach to them, I shall take care to inform you correctly of all that concerns them.

* *Achli* in Sumatra. Cf. *Histoire-Journa*, 2^e, *Acheen*.

† Compare Father Taillandier's account from Pondichery, 20th Febr. 1711, in *Lett. Edif.*, Vol. XI: [415] "On 20th [Jun. 1710] we passed near the Nicobar Islands, by night degrees. The Islanders came in fourteen canoes bringing us yams, coconuts and some fowls (*poules*), in exchange for tobacco in leaves. They are almost naked: their complexion is a yellowish tan; among the blacks they might pass for white. They make a sort of [416] paste of roots, which takes the place of bread, for neither rice nor corn grows in those Islands." Cf. also *Histoire-Journa* for earlier visits to the Nicobars, and *Selections from the Calcutta Review*, 1894, Vol. I, pp. 86-108, or *Calcutta Review*, Vol. LI, Oct. 1870, pp. 267-288, commenting on *Papers relating to the Nicobar Islands*, selections from the Records of the Government of India, No. LXXVII.

When I arrived at Pondichery, they were seriously devising means to work for the conversion of those Islanders. But, as they did not wish to deprive the Mission of the *Carnatic* or that of *Madura* of labourers that could not be missed there, they awaited fresh arrivals for this enterprise. On hearing this, I offered myself to the Superiors ; I even urged them, & they yielded to my entreaties. So I had the happiness of being selected with Father Bonnet* for initiating this excellent work as soon as we should find an opportunity for passing into those Islands.

We were impatiently waiting for some ships to set sail towards the Strait of Malacca, when unexpectedly four were seen to cast anchor, two of them being ordered to go on a cruise to that Strait. This small squadron was commanded by M. Raoul, to whom we communicated our design. He approved of it, & kindly granted us the favour we begged of him, to take us in one of his [286] ships. I went as Almoner on board the *Lys-Brillac* commanded by M. du Demaine. M. Raoul wished to have Father Bonnet with him in the *Maurepas*.

After two months spent in various journeys which it is unnecessary to detail here, we set sail to pass again before Malacca, & double a Cape called *Rachado*. We shall soon be within sight of the *Nicobar* Islands, where, I hope, with God's grace, to devote myself wholly to the conversion of the poor people that has fallen to my lot. God, who has always been very merciful to me, inspires me with a boundless confidence in His all-powerful protection, & this makes me look fearlessly forward to the dangers we shall encounter in the midst of a barbarous nation.

How happy I should be, Reverend Father, if, when you receive this letter I had already been worthy of suffering something for Jesus Christ ; but you know me too well not to be persuaded that such a grace is reserved to others who deserve it better than myself. Whatever my future lot may be, you will

* Father Pierre Bonnet : born in the diocese of Avignon, 26th Aug. 1694, admitted into the Novitiate, 7th Sept. 1697 ; taught Grammar, Humanities and Rhetoric. In 1701, he was at the College of the Holy Trinity at Lyons, studying Theology and directing a congregation of young working-men. Cf. O. SOMMERVOGEL, S. J., *Op. cit.*, Vol. I and VIII. He left S. Malo in 1707 with Father Taillaudier, on board *le Saint Esprit*. They passed through Teneriffe, las Palmas, San Domingo, Havana, Vera Cruz, Puebla de los Angeles, Mexico, Acapulco, where they took ship for the Philippines. From Manilla they went to Malacca, Achin, Queda, where they spent 7 months waiting for the monsoon and fell ill. Finally they arrived at Pondichery on 2nd Febr. 1710. Father Taillaudier, from whose letter the above Itinerary is extracted, wrote : (Pondichery, 20th Febr. 1711). "I have since had the sorrow of being separated from Father Bonnet, to whom God had united me in a particular manner. You have no doubt learnt with what courage he and Father Fausse entered the Nicobar Islands on the 16th [1711] of January of this year 1711, in order to announce Jesus Christ to the barbarous nations inhabiting them ; it would be useless to repeat here particulars already sent to France." Cf. *Letres Edif.*, 1751, Vol. XI, pp. 363-416.

next year [287] hear from me, either through my own letters, if I am still alive, or through the letters of our Fathers in Pondichery, if I am no more able to write to you myself. I am respectfully & in union with your holy sacrifices, &c.

The information received, after the two Missionaries had landed in the Nicobar Islands, is as follows. On their return from the Strait of Malacca, the two ships passed, by the seventh degree from the line, near one of the Islands. M. du Demaine went close to it and had the longboat prepared at once to put the Fathers ashore. The separation did not take place without tears. All the crew were moved to see with what joy the two Missionaries were about to put themselves at the mercy of a ferocious people, in Islands so little frequented, & entirely destitute of the necessaries of life. The vessel lay to, & every eye followed the boat, as it kept a long time coasting the island, without finding any spot for landing. The officer commanding the boat even thought already of returning to his ship [288]. The Fathers begged him not to lose heart; they coasted the Island some time longer, & finally they found a sufficiently convenient place, where they landed the Missionaries, a small chest containing their chapel, & a bag of rice, a present from M. du Demaine. As soon as they found themselves on the island, they knelt down, prayed & respectfully kissed the ground, to take possession of it in the name of Jesus Christ. Then, having hidden their chapel & their bag of rice, they advanced into the woods, to find out the inhabitants. We shall know what their lot will have been only by the first vessels passing that way. Only these particulars were received from M. du Demaine, who added that, before disembarking the Missionaries, he had noticed one of those Barbarians holding his arrows in his hands, who, after eyeing them rather long & proudly, had retired into the thick of the woods.

NOTE.

It was in the big Island of the Nicobars called Chamboian, the nearest to Achen, that [289] the two Missionaries first landed. There they preached the Gospel about two years & a half; but we cannot say exactly what was the fruit of their preaching.

From there they went to the other islands, chiefly to that called Nicobary, which is situated by eight degrees thirty minutes of latitude north. The Islanders there are gentle, affable & much more tractable than the people of the neighbouring islands. During the ten months that the Missionaries spent in that island, they gave so high an opinion of their virtue that the inhabitants saw them depart with extreme regret. These poor people represented in vain to the Fathers the dang they exposed themselves to in

trusting to their ferocious & inhuman neighbours. They could not prevail on them, & not to displease them, they were forced against their will to conduct them to Chambolan or some other neighbouring island, for the fact could not be ascertained.

The Missionaries were here hardly a fortnight, when they ended their life, doubtless by a violent & cruel death. The inhabitants of Nicobary have since reproached & are still reproaching those of Chambolan with their death, and the latter are badly worsted when trying to defend themselves.

It even seems that the phantom of their crime is ever present before their eyes. When one of our brigantines appeared in the St. George's Channel which passes near that island, they were seized with fear at the sight of the white flag. They refused for over an hour to come on board, shouting from their pirogues & begging in broken Portuguese that no harm should be done them.

[290] Our people, who did not know yet what they learnt afterwards in the neighbouring islands, promised them without difficulty complete security; but the countenances of those barbarians, when they asked them news of the Missionaries, made them judge that the Fathers had been massacred. The Chief of the Indians answered in a tremble that they had no knowledge of them; another pulled him by the arm; all looked disconcerted & dismayed.

This was about 1715, & the French, after leaving the Island of Chambolan, passed to Nicobary, where they learned all that we have here noted. All this we extract from the dedicatory letter prefixed to the thirteenth volume of the old edition.

In the preface to the 16th volume there is still question of these two Missionaries. It is related that they sank under the load of various diseases; particularly pains in the stomach & looseness of the bowels (*flux de ventre*)*

SECOND NOTE.

John Baptist Sidoti, a Priest, born at Palermo in Sicily, had from his tenderest youth applied himself in Rome to the study of Japanese. He obtained from the Pope a Mission to the Empire of Japan, & left in 1702 to go by Arabia† to the East Indies. After many hardships and fatigues

* The fate of the two Jesuits did not long remain unknown: we have learnt that they made several Quinzians among the Islanders of Nicobar, who until then had heard nothing of Jesus Christ; but that after two or three years they had been basten to death by some of these Barbarians." Cf. DE CHARLEVOIX, S. J., *Hist. du Japon*, Paris, Nyon, 1754. Vol. VI, p. 58.

See App. A, where we give the details not reproduced from the old edition, and App. B, in which we have gathered some other information concerning Catholic Missionaries in the Nicobars.

† He did not come by way of Syria, or by the Red Sea, as we showed above.

he arrived at Manilla, whence he was taken at night by a Spanish boat to Jaconissa on the coasts of Japan. . . . Sidoti was apprehended at once after landing, & conducted to Nangasaki, where the Dutch of the factory were invited to assist at his trial. . . .

They saw before them a tall spare man, about [291] forty years old. The chains on his hands were removed. He was pale, & his black hair was slovenly pushed backwards, after the manner of the Japanese. . . . Above a white shirt he wore a silk robe, like the Japanese; round his neck was a small gold chain from which hung a big cross of a brown wood with a gilt Crucifix; he held his rosary in his hand, & had two books under his arm.* In a blue bag, which they had taken from him, he had whatever was necessary to say Mass, the Holy Oils, a piece of the true Cross, ornaments, blest medals, &c. Finally, the Brief of the Pope, signed by the Cardinal of St. Clement's. . . .

Sidoti's answers at his trial, far from betraying any confusion of mind, betokened rather a sane judgment & a singular constancy. When he was asked if he had already spoken of the Christian Religion to the Japanese, he answered in their tongue, which he spoke with extreme ease: "Certainly, since it is the object of my journey." . . . Noticing in the midst of the examination that the Japanese took in their hands several of the articles contained in the blue bag, he requested them not to touch those sacred objects, & this was at first granted him. The Governors had even the kindness of furnishing him with more suitable clothing for the cold season which was approaching; after which he was sent from Nangasaki to Jedo, where he remained several years in prison, always intent on the propagation of the faith; he even baptised several Japanese who came to see him; but, this having come to the knowledge of the Government, all the new converts were put to death [292] & Sidoti was walled up in a hole four or five feet deep, where they gave him to eat through a small opening, until he died at length from the infection & the squalor.† See *les Recherches historiques sur l'état de la Religion Chrétienne au*

* These details, borrowed from Baron de Harn, p. 91 *ibq.*, are themselves derived from VALENTYN'S "Byzondere Zaaken van Japan" in *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien*, deel v, stuk 2, pp. 157-164. We borrow part of Father Thurston's translation: "We saw a tall thin man with his hands bound behind his back. He was pale, with a long narrow face and a large nose, black hair done up in queue behind, after the Japanese manner, but very closely. His hair seemed some time ago to have been shaved in front, but it was now growing thick again, as was also his beard. He was dressed in a silk Japanese robe, under which he apparently wore, as far as we could see, a white tunic. Round his neck there was a gold (or gilt) chain with a largish cross of brown wood to which was attached a gold figure. He had a rosary in his hand, and two books under his arm." Cf. *The Month*, Op. cit., 1905, Vol. I., p. 576.

† "Tot dat hy door den grooten stank en door zyn eigen zwelghheit gestorlt, en overleden is." VALENTYN, *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien*, Vol. II., p. 164. See, however, the Japanese account from which it appears that Sidoti died after the middle of August 1715. Cf. *The Month*, 1905, Vol. II.

Japon, relativement à la Nation Hollandaise, par le Baron Onno-Swier de Haren. A Paris, chez Conturvier père, aux Galeries du Louvre, année 1778.

Father Taillandier* in his letter from Pondichery, 20th February 1731 (*Lettres Edif.*, 1781, Vol. XI.) relates the tragic death of a French sailor who had come from Bengal: [411] "When we arrived at *Queda*† we learned that, two years before [412], a certain Frenchman called Martin had there suffered death for the Catholic Faith. || He was a Pilot on board a small vessel that had come from Bengal and the Captain of which was an Englishman. After they had passed through Achen & Batavia, he killed his Captain & possessed himself of the cargo of the ship. Fearing that his crime might be discovered, he thought of ridding himself of those whom he had most cause to be suspicious of. With this purpose, he left behind in a desert island on the coast of Java, five Christian sailors, whom he had sent down on the plea of fetching water; but, shortly after, he was obliged to put in at *Queda* where a slave of the murdered Captain accused him before the King, who confiscated the vessel & condemned him to death. As he was being led to the place of execution, they came to offer him in the name of the Prince his life & a thousand crowns, if he would become a Mohammedan; but he chose rather to die than to renounce his faith. He expired holding a crucifix in his hand & pronouncing these words of the Lord's prayer: "*Hallowed be thy name.*" We have learned these particulars from a Portuguese, some Portuguese half-castes, a Malay, who acted to the end as his interpreter, & even some [413] Mohammedans from Surat, all of them eye-witnesses of his

p. 32. Father L. Delplace, S.J., notes in *Le Catholicisme au Japon: Vies des Martyrs*, Bruxelles, Dewit, 1910, p. 248, that nothing certain was known in Europe as to Sidotti's fate until 1726, [the year when Valentin's work was published.] But, see our App. A. For further particulars on this extraordinary episode Cf. FRANCISQUE MARNAS, *La Religion de Jésus*, I, pp. 59-77; *Trans. Ar. Soc. Jap.*, IX, 186: XVI, 207; L. PABST, *Bibliogr. Japonica*, No. 379; FR. VON WENCKSTERN's *A Bibliography of the Japanese Empire*, London, Kegan Paul, 1895, pp. 60-61, i.e. Gaudert H. Sei-Yoo Ki-Bun; *Les Miss. Cathol.*, Lyons, 1883, Nos. 788-792.

* Father John Baptist, or rather, Pierre Taillandier: born at Lyons, 6th March 1676; admitted into the Novitiate, 23rd September 1693; taught Grammar, Humanism and Rhetoric, and worked in 1703 at the Observatory of the College of Lyons. He left for Madras in 1707 and died in 1723 in a shipwreck as is stated in the general Necrology. Father Comandon, in a letter of 1732, writes: "It is not improbable that his passion for taking observations deprived this Mission of Fr. Taillandier; *il s'en alla trop avant* and has not been heard of again." Cf. SOMMERVOGEL.

† "The Kingdom of *Queda* is tributary to the King of Siam. The town has seven to eight thousand inhabitants & the whole Kingdom about twenty thousand." Cf. *Lettres Edif.*, XI, p. 409, and *Hébron-Jabon* (i.e. *Queda*): "A city, port, and small kingdom on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, tributary to Siam."

‡ This must have been in 1707. Cf. note p. 20.

firmness & constancy. I cannot help admiring the wonderful ways of Providence, which never wears out waiting for us, & in a moment makes of a sinner guilty of so many crimes a martyr for Jesus Christ."

APPENDIX A. (Cf. p. 22.)

Fr. A. Lallemand, S.J., of Brussels, has been kind enough to copy from the *Lettres édufiantes et Curieuses*, the fuller text of Father J.B. du Halde's dedicatory letter prefixed to Vol. XIII of the 1st edition.

[P. XII]. "Hence, my Rev. Fathers, there remains but for me to communicate to you the news we [XIII] have at last received about M. l'Abbé Sidotti, and Fathers Faure and Bonnet. You saw in the tenth "Recueil" with what courage and what zeal these three Missionaries penetrated, the one into Japan at the end of the year 1709, the other two into the Islands of Nicobar in the month of January of the year 1711. Until now, it had been impossible to learn anything sure about their lot; but the Letters received lately from the Indies do not allow us to doubt that the two last at least have consummated their sacrifice.

"Two Chinese 'sommies' coming from Japan in the month of [XIV] May of the year 1716 brought to Canton the news of M. l'Abbé Sidotti's death

[XVI] "As for the two Nicobar Missionaries, a Frenchman who had sojourned some time in those Islands, had brought already in the month of May of the year 1715 the first intelligence of their death.* But as he gave no particulars, they thought they could call his statement in question until an occasion should offer to obtain better information. For this they addressed M. Dardancourt, the Director-General of the Royal Company of France in Bengale,† and they requested him to insert in his instructions to the Captain of a Brigantine bound [XVII] for Quueda the order of going to the Nicobar Islands, and informing himself as to the fate of the Missionaries.

"This order was very exactly and faithfully executed. On the return of the Brigantine, the journals of the Captain and of the Pilots were examined. In their presence and before M. le Directeur, they verified the circumstances set down in a special Relation drawn up by M. du Douay, the writer of the vessel; so that we can no longer doubt about the truth of the following facts.

* Where did Father Somervogel, after much hesitation, discover that Fr. Faure died in the Madras Mission, on November 2nd, 1714? (Cf. *Op. cit.*, Vol. IX, 316). "This is quite erroneous," writes Fr. L. Besse, S.J. In the case of Fr. Bonnet, Somervogel says merely that he died between 1714 and 1717. Cf. Vol. VIII.

† This must be le Chevalier Claude Boyvin, d'Harcancourt, who took charge of Chandernagore in March 1711, and died there on November 28, 1717. Cf. W. Irving, *India de Mogor*, Index, Vol. IV, in particular, Vol. IV, pp. 166, & 2, 461.

"It was in the big Island of the Nicobars called Chambolan, . . . [as above. The note of Vol. XI (1781) occupies p. XVII (end) to p. XXI (end) of Vol. XII of the first edition. At the last paragraph:]

"It is thus that our Frenchmen left the Island of Chambolan, & passed to Nicobary, where they learned whatever we have just related. They had the consolation to see that the memory [XXII] of the two Fathers was held in great veneration (*en bénédiction*) in the Island, that those Islanders spoke only with sadness of their death, that they kept precious, & revered the smallest things that had been used by them. One of these Indians held in his hand a French *Imitation*; whatever they might offer him in exchange, it was impossible to get him to part with it. It has not yet been possible to learn the circumstances of their death, & we shall not know them for sure until the people of Chambolan can be made to speak, will they, nill they . . ."

The further particulars, alluded to at the end of the note on our page 23, are, by mistake, said to be in the Vol. XVIth of the first edition. Father Debuchy, S.J., Enghien (Belgium), discovered them in the prefatory address to Vol. XVII, Paris, 1726.

[P. XXII]. "You saw in the tenth Recueil, my Reverend Fathers, with what courage Father Faure & Father Bonnet entered in the year 1711 the Islands of Nicobar, to carry thither the light of the Faith, where no European had yet penetrated. The result of their Mission has remained unknown until now: all that we have been able to learn is that they had at an early hour consummated there their sacrifice.

[XXIII]. "However, a rather recent letter received from M. le Bon de Bausang by our Missionaries at *Ponticheri* gives us about it information which appears certain. The letter is written from *Tranquebar*, a town on the *Coromandel* coast, belonging to the Danes, & is dated the 31st December 1723.

"He writes that, having instructed the Pilot Manuel Dalmeida to inform himself about the state of the Mission of Nicobar, he [the Pilot] had said that the Danish Vessel on which he had landed at an Island situated at the mouth of the Saint George's Channel, where he [XXIV] intended to stay during the bad weather; that numbers of Nicobarese came daily on board, bringing refreshments (*des rafraîchissements*); that they all called themselves Christians; that one of them was called *Antoniq*, another *Francisco*, etc.; that they made the sign of the Cross, & recited in the Portuguese tongue the Our Father, the Hail Mary, & the Apostles' Creed; that one of them named *Senon*, who explained himself better than the rest, made him understand that he was the servant of the Fathers; that those Fathers had died long ago from divers diseases, [XXV] especially pains in the stomach and looseness of the bowels (*flux de ventre*); that another Islander, named *Anteniv*, who had also

been their servant, had lately embarked on a ship going to Manilla; that the Pilot was invited by the same *Senan* to come & see the tomb of the Missionaries, but that, as it was too far in the Island, he dared not venture so far from the ship; that he made efforts to persuade the Nicobarèse (*le Nicobarin*) to come with him to the coast, but in vain, because he could not resolve to leave his parents; that he came daily on board, & delighted in making [XXVI] the discourse fall on the Fathers; that, to explain how the Fathers prayed to God, he joined his hands & with a modest look raised his eyes to Heaven, saying: *Bons Pères sempra assim*," that is to say, these good Fathers were always thus; that we must presume the Fathers would have made much fruit, had they lived longer; that, to all appearances, they could not get accustomed to the diet of the natives of the Country, who live on roots called yams (*ignames*), on cocoanuts, & raw fish . . .

[XXVIII]. "... The same Pilot gave hopes that the Islander called *Antonio*, who is at Manilla, will pass through Pondichery on his return. If this be so, we shall be better informed concerning the time the Missionaries lived in the Island, the fruits they reaped, & the kind of death which ended their apostolic labours."

APPENDIX B.

OTHER CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES IN THE NICOBARS.

Fathers Faure and Bonnet are not the only Catholic Missionaries who penetrated into the Nicobars.

Father Charles de Montalembert, S.J., made another effort to establish a Mission in the Islands. On 27th December 1726 he wrote to the Governor of Pondichery:—"What would appear to me an easier and more expeditious undertaking would be the establishment in the Nicobar Islands of a Mission and a small factory. All agree that we could do some good there because of the tractable nature and the rather orderly habits of the inhabitants, and that the inhabitants would derive profit by it from the cowries (*cauris*), the ambergris and the wax found there. Some have the happy idea that, if we were established there, we might find gold,† Mr. Collevo, a man of prudence, and a good mariner, has passed there and will return thither without difficulty, I believe. I have offered myself and offer myself again to my Superiors to go there, either to remain or to examine what can be done. I wish, Sir, that this project may find favour with you; I should procure its success as much in me lies."

† This is Portuguese.

† The legend of a well which would give anything put into it, iron, copper or wood, is already spoken of in 1669 by a Spanish Missionary, Dominic Fernandez, *Cl. Sal. from Calcutta Review*, 1894, p. 90, quoting Harris' *Voyages and Travels*. I have come across similar legends in the case of a well in Sumatra, and of another in the Maldives.

In 1741, or thereabout, Father de Montalembert was sent to the Nicobars by his Superiors. He was instructed to found a Mission in the Archipelago, and the French E. I. Company commissioned him to determine the most favourable spot for the erection of a factory. de Montalembert remained in the Nicobars until 1742, after which he returned to Pondichery. The expedition proved fatal to him, and shortly after he succumbed to the disease of which he had already contracted the germs in Bengal. (Pondichery, 12th May 1743). (Cf. H. CASTONNET DES FOSSES, *Le R. P. Charles de Montalembert, Missionnaire aux Indes au XVIII^e siècle* in *Annales de l'Extrême Orient et de l'Afrique*, 1866, pp. 330, 334.)

Charles de Montalembert, born at Cognac in 1682, entered the Novitiate at Bordeaux on 2nd September 1697; taught Grammar, Humanities and Rhetoric; left in 1714 for Pondichery, and made his profession on 15th August 1715; went to Chandernagore, at the end of the same year; returned to Pondichery, his health greatly impaired in 1728; was sent to the Philippines in 1733, as Procurator-General; returned to Pondichery in 1735; sent to the Nicobars (1741-42); died at Pondichery, 12th May 1743. Cf. C. SOMMERVOGEL, and H. CASTONNET DES FOSSES, *Op. cit.*

During his return to Europe (1739), Père Norbert de Bar-le-Duc (Pierre Parisot, *alias* l'Abbé Curel Platel), a Capuchin well known for his *Mémoires Utiles et Nécessaires* and *Mémoires Historiques*, learnt many particulars about the Nicobars from the Captain and the officers of *Le Duc d'Orléans*. At his request, the officers drew up a short report. Margonne, 'officier sur les Vaisseaux de la Compagnie des Indes de France,' attests that he had passed several "times in those Isles." He is, probably, the gentleman who had spent about six months on the Islands and had acquired a certain knowledge of the language. Père Norbert says that he addressed a memoir to the S. Congregation de *Propaganda Fide*, advocating the advisability of a Capuchin Mission to be established in the Nicobars. The report of the French Officer, Père Norbert's abstract of his Memoir and his covering letter, dated Avignon, "le 12 de l'an 1742" [*sic*] are to be found in his *Oraison funèbre de Monseigneur de Visdelou, Jésuite*, Cadix, Ant. Pereira, 1742, pp. 184-201. There is question in the correspondence of a certain Portuguese Priest who, shortly before, had died in the Nicobars after a not very edifying life, no specific charges being, however, laid to his account.

By far the most interesting record of missionary enterprise in the Nicobar Islands will be found in *Vie de M. l'Abbé Chopard, Missionnaire Apostolique, Apôtre des Iles Nicobar, Par un Prêtre du Diocèse de Besançon*, Paris, Gaume Frères, 1896, pp. vii + 329. This work has become rare. From a copy kindly

1. Pierre-Marie-Joseph, of la Grand-Combe; born on the day of the Epiphany, 1516; went to the East in 1541.

lent me by Dr. A. Cardot, Vicar Apostolic of Lower Burma, I gather the following particulars. (Cf pp. 160-321.)

One of the Missionaries of Siam was sent to the Nicobars "little more than a hundred years ago"—the allusion cannot be to Father de Montalembert, who never was in Siam—and was never heard of again. In 1836, two Missionaries (of the Foreign Missions of Paris), Messieurs Supriès and Galabert went thither from Malacca, but after a year of labours and sufferings they were compelled to abandon the country, without the consolation of having made even a single Christian.

Such was the spiritual condition of the Islands, when Mgr. Hilaire Courvez, Bishop of Bidopolis and Vicar Apostolic of Siam, sent Messieurs Chopard and Beaury to make another effort. They left Singapore at the end of January 1842, and went to Pulo-Pinang to make the necessary preparations. Money being useless, they took in a stock of knives, scissors, cloth, a small pharmacy and the wooden framework of a cabin. Mons. Bigandet (later Mgr. Bigandet of Rangoon fame), who was then at Pulo-Pinang, got them on board a Chinese junk, the pilot of which was one of his Christians of Mergui.

On February 5, Saturday, they landed at Teressa. On February 7, when they went down again to the most important agglomeration in the island, they were not a little surprised to be accosted by a young man, who had gone to Goa on board a European vessel, and knew some English and Portuguese. Providence sent them a friend; for, after much opposition from the inhabitants, they were at last allowed, through his influence, to effect a landing for good. Alas! while their modest belongings were being brought to the shore, their cabin was lost at sea, and they had to put up, with extreme discomfort to themselves, in one of the native huts. A wretched ladder led up to it, and the smoke, the heat, the want of air made it a veritable purgatory on earth.

They had with them two Malay young men, their servants, who had accompanied them. The next few days, they were constantly visited by the natives. Their medicines were soon in great demand, and plenty of provisions were given them in return. What strikes us is the friendliness which the natives showed them from the first. On February 18, they celebrated for the first time Holy Mass. "We do it in secret, because these good savages are not instructed in our adorable mysteries."

On February 25, their Chinese junk was sighted again, and their first letters for France were dispatched. Less than a month after their landing, both Missionaries fell ill, and M. Beaury died in the night of April 1-2. M. Chopard was himself so unwell that he could scarcely perform the last rites over the tomb of his *confrère*. It was, however, a great consolation to

him to see the concern of the savages at the death of his companion. His own illness now increased. In May he thought more than once he would die, but the last days of June put an end to the rains, the storms and earthquakes, after which they had taken ill. On July 2, the Feast of the Visitation of Our Lady, he was so far convalescent that he could celebrate Holy Mass once more. When able to move about again, he began in earnest his ministrations, learning the language, instructing the natives as best he could, gaining their affection by his medical skill.

On August 5, they brought him a present. In reality, they wanted his permission for exhuming the body of M. Beaury, to give him something to eat and drink. Not a drop of rain had fallen during the last six weeks, and they attributed it to the fact that the corpse had not, according to ancestral custom, been left a prey to the birds.

By and by, Fr. Chopard celebrated Mass before the natives. His *concertina* brought them to him in crowds. It was for him an occasion to instruct and tame them. About this time, he learnt that the inhabitants of *Nancoury*, a neighbouring island, had massacred the crews of three English or Burmese vessels, "to drink the blood of the sailors, and seize whatever was on board."

During his illness in April, he had been several days unconscious. How long he knew not. In November, when an Arabian vessel touched at *Teressa*, he found that it was not November 25, but November 21, a Sunday. To rectify his mistake, he spent a week of eleven days, and November had for him 34 days.

After nine months spent in the island, an English vessel called, and great was the surprise of the Captain to find there a French Missionary, living in complete security and great amity among the savages. Another batch of letters was dispatched. At the end of December 1842, Fr. Chopard started reconnoitring the island, and scattering the good seed. Emboldened by the welcome he met everywhere, he next visited the neighbouring islands on the frail craft of his dear savages. At the end of their peregrinations they met a Moorish vessel. The crew in their enthusiasm at the sight of a Frangul Padre lost in those wilds, hoisted the English flag, discharged their cannon, and executed several manœuvres in his honour.

In January 1843, he was called to a sick woman in a distant part of the Island of *Teressa*, and had the consolation of registering his first baptism. The passage of a Burmese bark on March 17 gave him again an opportunity of sending letters to his parents in France. At the end of March, he was living tranquilly among his savages, not expecting to receive any tidings before the end of the year, when a little note suddenly reached him announcing the visit of one of his *confrères* in Burma. It was Mons. Renier of *Mergui*, whom Mons. Bigandet, then called away to *Pulo-Pinang*, had sent

in his stead. Chopard's health had never completely recovered from his illness at the beginning of his stay in the island. Still, it required much coaxing on the part of M. Renier to decide Chopard to accompany him for a time to Mergui and recruit his shattered strength. The leave-taking on Maunday Thursday, April 13, was most affecting. The savages would not let go Fr. Chopard before he had solemnly promised to return. They loaded him with presents of fowls, pigs, yams, oranges, cocoanuts, plantains. One young man pressed some twenty turtle-doves on his acceptance. There was such plenty that, to get rid of it all, Fr. Chopard had to give away part of his presents to the Chinese on board.

At Merguy, Fr. Chopard found a bundle of letters for him: letters from his brethren in the Mission, letters from Bishops, letters from his mother, from whom he had not heard those last two years. In Singapore and Pulo-Pinang they had long thought him dead. Thanks to the kind care of the many friends whom he found at Mergui, his health rallied, so much so that in the beginning of November 1843 he returned to Teressa accompanied only by a young man, belonging to an honourable family of Mergui, "who preferred to become a savage, he also, in order to help the Father, and die with him, God so permitting." His savages received him back, as children welcome the return of a father after a long absence. And now, he set to work in real earnest. It did not last long. On December 21, he felt the first attack of a fever which was destined gradually to carry him off. Still, he held on, applying himself to the study of the native languages. He translated into the Nicobar language the *Our Father*, the *Hail Mary*, the *Credo*, and other prayers for the use of his catechumens. He must have compiled a dictionary, too, for he complains of the poverty of the language and estimated it did not contain more than 2,500 words. "A serious difficulty," he writes, "consisted in writing this language. Finding nothing appropriate in the language of the neighbouring peoples, I have adopted the Roman character." He also opened a small school. "Deprived of the help of a press, I shall be obliged meanwhile to write myself or get written the prayers and the catechism which my Islanders must learn."

More than once, Fr. Chopard had succeeded in preventing deeds of violence: but, savages, cannibals—as they were considered by all travellers—were not to be so easily converted to sentiments of even ordinary humanity. In an island near Teressa, a crew of 25 were murdered to a man, their cargo was looted, and to leave no trace of the crime their ship was set on fire. Another day, a captain, who paid a visit to M. Chopard, was told without circumlocution that, if they did not kill him, it was thanks to the Father.

Between the middle of February and the month of April, Fr. Chopard was continually ailing. His legs, swollen enormously, refused him all service

and he was a continual prey to fever. At the end of April 1844, M. Bigandet, then on the Tenasserim Coast, instructed a French Captain, who was to pass through the Nicobars, to bring him back, if he found him seriously ill. This was done accordingly. However much M. Chopard might demur, he understood that, in the circumstances, it was the only means of saving a life which he wished to devote wholly to the conversion of the Nicobarese.

The English doctor of Moulmein succeeded in conjuring the malady. With a new lease of life before him, M. Chopard went to Pulo-Pinang to concert measures for his return. At Pulo-Pinang, not one of his *confrères*, not even M. Bigandet, could recognize him. "So many *Requiem*s have been said for my poor soul," he wrote, and the whole of his physiognomy was so completely altered, that they took him for a phantom.

A third expedition was set on foot. Two young Missionaries, Messieurs Plaisant and Lacrampe, recently arrived from France, were to accompany him. A splendid French vessel, bound for Rougeoix, took them on board about 15th August 1844. The three priests must have looked forward to making an agreeable voyage, in the company of their countrymen; but, strange to say, and to the eternal shame of the French marine, they were subjected to every form of vexation, and had to listen to blasphemies against God and religion which pagans would have spared them. Pretence, or ill-will, the Captain, instead of landing at Teressa, cast them on the shores of Car-Nicobar. Here an English Captain more compassionate, or let us say more humane, picked them up and promised to carry them to Teressa. To mar their joy, a terrible accident occurred. The boat, which was taking their luggage on board, capsized and two of the native lascars, natives from Bengal, were drowned.

Fr. Chopard had scarcely landed at Teressa, when the fever again prostrated him. His two companions were not spared, either. To add to their misfortune, the dispositions of the natives had entirely changed. It will be remembered that the crew of a vessel had been massacred in an island near Teressa. In May, a European Captain was killed on the same spot. The contagion of these examples spread to Teressa, where a crew of from 15 to 20 men were done to death, their goods plundered and their ship burnt. And now, the punitive expedition, which had been sent from the Coast of Tenasserim, was laid at the door of the missionaries. M. Lacrampe was forced through ill-health in the beginning of 1845 to abandon the island. The two other missionaries fell ill simultaneously and returned soon after to Mergui, where Fr. Chopard succumbed on 25th June. A noble life, forsooth, and all too soon forgotten. Life, for which the admiration of men is too paltry a reward!

* The *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* 1884, pp. 118-138, contain 5 letters of Fr. Chopard's from the Nicobars. They are dated: Teressa, February 14, April 17, August 1, November 14, December 11, 1844, and have been utilized by his biographer.

Whether any attempts were made after this by Catholic Missionaries for the regeneration of the Nicobar Islands, I am not aware. I can only note that the biography of Fr. Chopard is silent about the sojourn in the Islands of Father Barbe, who left us an account, mainly scientific, on the Nicobars. Cf. Rev. P. Barbe's *Notice of the Nicobar Islands*, *J.A.S.B.*, 1849, pp. 344-379, and *Selections from the Calcutta Review*, 1894, Vol. I, pp. 86-108. Captain W. B. Birch (Cf. *ibid.*, 1895, Vol. V, June-September), Art. *The Nicobar Islands*, (p. 311-14) quotes letters to W. Wilberforce, M.P., by Père C. I. Latrobe, dated 1812, on the subject of the Nicobar Islands. But, on further examination, I find out that he was not a Catholic priest. He belonged to the United Brethren, and is the author of a work on the South African Missions conducted by that body.



Marriages in Calcutta, 1780=1785.

(CHURCH OF ENGLAND.)

THESE "Marriages" form a continuation of the series published in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV, pp. 485-512. In the registers from which they are transcribed the signature of the Chaplain appears at the end of each month. In regard to Officers in the Hon. E. I. Co.'s Civil and Military Services it may again be explained (in order to save an expensive multiplication of foot-notes) that information regarding them will in most cases be found in Dodwell and Miles consolidated *Lists* of both those Services. The Editor's thanks are again due to the Chaplain of St. John's for access kindly granted to the old Parish Registers.

1780. January 6.—Mr. John Booth,¹ Writer in the Hon'ble Company's Service and Miss Eliza Camac, Spinster.

1780. January 27.—Mr. Thomas Woorsencroft and Mrs. Sarah Johnston, Widow. William Johnson, Chaplain.

1780. February 7.—Mr. Joseph Barnard Smith,² Junior Merchant, in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Rose Morrow, Spinster.

1780. March 7.—Mr. Henry Swinhoe³ and Jane Mauli, Single woman. William Johnson, Chaplain.

1780. May 4.—Mr. Charles Palmer, Inhabitant, and Miss Gray.

1780. May 12.—Mr. Joseph Champion, Writer, in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Anna Forbes.⁴ William Johnson, Chaplain.

1780. June 1.—Lieut. Henry Read in the Hon'ble Company's Service and Miss Catharine Penneck.

1780. June 29.—Andrew Williams, Esq., Surgeon-Major, in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Eliza Allanson. William Johnson, Chaplain.

1780. July 17.—Mr. Robert Penny, Captain of a Country Vessel, and Catharine Young, Spinster.

¹ Booth, J. In the list of the Grand Jury 1788—John S. Booth.

² Smith, J. B. Had served on the Jury in the Nunda Kumar case.

³ Swinhoe, H. Attorney, Supreme Court, admitted 1779. For both H. and J. Swinhoe see *Bengal Obituary*, p. 95.

⁴ Champion, M^r. A. See *Bengal Obituary*, p. 73.

1780. July 8.—Mr. John Narain, Inhabitant, and Mrs. Elizabeth Chalmers, Widow. William Johnson, Chaplain.

1780. September 18.—Mr. Adrian Martin, Mariner, and Miss Betsey Pascola de Rozario. William Johnson, Chaplain.

1780. October 26.—Nathaniel Middleton,¹ Esq., Junior Merchant, in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Anna Frances Morse.

1780. October 31.—Mr. Joseph Cator,² Factor, in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Diana Bertie.³ William Johnson, Chaplain.

1780. November 4.—Mr. William Cator, Factor in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Sarah Morse.

1780. November 15.—Mr. Henry Churchill, Chief Mate of the *Walpole* Indiaman, and Miss Marianne Birch. William Johnson, Chaplain.

1780. December 16.—Edward Wheeler,⁴ Esq., First of the Supreme Council, and Miss Charlotte Dunford.

1780. December 23.—Mr. Thomas Andrews and Mrs. Elizabeth Marquet, widow. William Johnson, Chaplain.

1781. January 15.—Henry Cottrell, Esq., Member of the Board of Trade, and Miss Hannah Maria Spilsbury.

1781. January 22.—Mr. Thomas Thompson, Mariner, and Miss Menguella Tishera. William Johnson, Chaplain.

1781. April 24.—William Dick Gamage, Esq., Commander of the *Belmont* East Indiaman, and Miss Jane Stewart.

Note.—Copy and Duplicate sent to England per *Belmont & Neptune*, dated 30th April 1781. William Johnson, Chaplain.

1781. May 10.—Mr. Archibald Montgomerie, Junior Merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Maria Chantry.⁵

William Johnson, Chaplain.

¹ *Middleton, N.* Appointed Resident at Lucknow, October 1774. Recalled by resolutions carried by the Francis clique in December. After the death of Colonel Monson, in September 1776, Hastings, having a majority, re-instated Middleton. In 1780 Hastings himself removed Middleton and re-instated the Francis favourite, John Bristow. Nathaniel Middleton gave evidence at the Hastings' trial and won the nickname of "Memory Middleton." There are many references to him in Sydney *Giles's Letters of Warren Hastings to His Wife*. Mr. Forrest seems to confound the personality of N.M. with that of a far older Company's servant—Samuel Middleton.

² *Cator, J.* In addition to his work as a Company's servant, he acted as Secretary and Agent of Richard Barwell.

³ *Bertie, D.* Probably a sister of Ann Bertie, the wife of North Naylor. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV, p. 505. Richard Barwell allowed her the free use of his furnished house "facing the Esplanade" for two years, in consideration of her attention to his wife and children. *Ibid.* Vol. IV, p. 511.

⁴ *Wheeler, E.* His second marriage, as will be seen from his epitaph, *Bengal Obituary*, p. 13; Wheeler, while Acting President, laid the foundation-stone of St. John's Church. See Buckland: *Dictionary of Indian Biography*.

⁵ *Chantry, M.* See Mrs. Eliza Fay's *Original Letters from India (Reprint)*, pp. 132, 234.

1781. July 14.—Mr. Henry Plowden,¹⁰ Factor, in ye Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Eugenia Brooke.

1781. July 19.—Mr. Litchfield¹¹ and Miss Fraser.¹²

William Johnson, Chaplain.

1781. September 8.—Mr. James Hennes and Mrs. Mary Robertson.¹³ widow,

William Johnson, Chaplain.

1781. December 2.—Francis De Cruz, Drummer, and Mary De Rozario, Single woman.

1781. December 8.—Mr. Alexander Logie,¹⁴ Chief Mate of the *Grosvenor* East Indiaman, and Miss Lydia Harriet Blechynden.

William Johnson, Chaplain.

1782. February 10.—Mr. Francis L'Herondell,¹⁵ Attorney-at-Law, and Miss Mary Le Clere.

1782. February 20.—Joseph Green, Sergeant, and Rose, single woman.

1782. February 22.—Mr. Edward Hay¹⁶ Writer in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Elizabeth Wagstaff.

William Johnson, Chaplain.

1782. March 9.—William Morley, Gentleman, and Miss Juliana Theresia Bie,¹⁷ at Serampore.

1782. March 27.—Mr. John Joys,¹⁸ Inhabitant, and Mary Webster, single woman.

William Johnson, Chaplain.

1782. April 18.—Major Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe¹⁹ in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service, and Mrs. Susanna Sophia Selina Smith, widow.

William Johnson, Chaplain.

¹⁰ *Plowden, H.* Of the Plowdens of Plowden in Shropshire, of which family numerous members have distinguished themselves in the Indian services.

¹¹ *Litchfield, Mr.* Prothonotary of the Supreme Court.

¹² *Fraser, Miss.* A daughter of the Mr. Fraser (Foxter), Sealer of the Supreme Court, and a nephew of Sir Elijah Impey's, who was satirized by Hicky as "Poolbundy." See *Hastings: Atlas*, p. 201.

¹³ *Bennet, M.* See *Bengal Obituary*, p. 74.

¹⁴ *Logie, A.* See Article "The Loss of the *Grosvenor*," *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. II, No 3.

¹⁵ *L'Herondell, F.* See *Bengal Obituary*, p. 75.

¹⁶ *Hay, B.* Secretary to Government. See references in Sydney Grier: *Op. Cit.* On 8th September 1785 the *Calcutta Gazette* announces that Messrs. Jacoby Rider and Edward Hay are the proprietors of the Bengal Bank. See *Seron-Kari: Salvations*, Vol. I, p. 82.

¹⁷ *Morley, Mrs. J. T.* Daughter of Ole Bie, afterwards Danish Governor of Serampore (1789-1803).

¹⁸ *Joys, J.* His first marriage, see 1st December 1787. Keeper of the Jail; Master of the Harmonic; Tyler of Lodge *Industry and Patience*. For Mrs. M. Joys see *Bengal Obituary*, p. 74.

¹⁹ *Metcalfe, T. & S.* The parents of Lord Metcalfe. Sir T. T. Metcalfe afterwards became Director of the East India Company and a Baronet. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. III, p. 714.

1782. May 1.—Mr. Balldry, Butcher, and Mrs. Fielder, Widow.
Note.—Copy sent per *Lively Packet*. William Johnson, Chaplain.
1782. June 22.—Mr. John Andrews,²⁰ Bookseller, and Mrs. Constantia Hamilton, Widow. William Johnson, Chaplain.
1782. July 3.—Mr. Page Keble,²¹ Widower, and Miss Elizabeth Metham. William Johnson, Chaplain.
1782. July 11.—Mr. Francis Gladwin,²² Widower, and Miss Sarah Alexander. William Johnson, Chaplain.
1782. August 18.—Samuel Tovey, Seaman, and Ann DeRozario. William Johnson, Chaplain.
1782. October 6.—John Campbell, Corporal, and Maria, a Portuguese. William Johnson, Chaplain.
1782. November 6.—Edward Ellerker,²³ Esq., a Major in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service, and Miss Ann Rochford. These persons were married at Chittagong in the year 1777, by a Layman, in the presence of many witnesses, no Clergyman, or Person in Holy Orders being at or near the place. William Johnson, Chaplain.
1782. December 4.—Mr. David Cuming, Senior Merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Alice Shaw. William Johnson, Chaplain.
1783. February 5.—Mr. Henry Vansittart,²⁴ Senior Merchant, and Miss Catharine Ann Powney. William Johnson, Chaplain.
1783. June 1.—John Sugeon, Fifer in the Calcutta Militia, and Maria Francis, Single woman.
1783. June 8.—Major Anthony Hartle²⁵ in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service, and Miss Bridget Hoare. William Johnson, Chaplain.
1783. July 26.—Mr. John Hall, Factor in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Jean Durham. William Johnson, Chaplain.

²⁰ *Andrews, J.* The Calcutta Gazette, 31st May 1787, records: "Yesterday morning a duel was brought between Mr. G.——— an attorney-at-law, and Mr. A.———one of the Proprietors of the Library in which the former was killed on the spot. We understood that the quarrel originated about a gambling debt." Seton-Karr: *Op. Cit.* Vol. I, p. 202.

²¹ *Keble, Page.* Master Antecedant. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. X, No. 11, p. 329. For his canal (the *Bunco Nullah*) see Seton-Karr: *Selections*, Vol. I, p. 35 *et. seq.*

²² *Gladwin, F.* Orientalist. See *Dictionary of National Biography* and Bockland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*. See also *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV, pp. 509, 556; Vol. V, p. 147.

²³ *Ellerker, E.* For his previous marriage, 3rd April 1769, see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV., No. 9, p. 495. Subdued the Jaintia Raja. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. V., pp. 145, 183. Built a house at Fir Bahar, Munghyr.

²⁴ *Vansittart, H.* See *Bengal Obituary*, p. 74.

²⁵ *Hartle, A.* For his previous marriage (and note) see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV, No. 9, p. 494.

1783. November 10.—Mr. John Balfour, belonging to the Madras Establishment, and Mrs. Henrietta Macellan, Widow.

1783. November 18.—Captain Alexander Todd of the *Busbridge*, Indianman.

1783. November 26.—Mr. George Rumbold,²⁸ and Miss Carolina Hearn.

Note.—Copy and Duplicate sent by the *Narbudda* Packet and *Railney* Indianman, November 28th 1783. William Johnson, Chaplain.

1783. December 22.—Mr. Thomas Graham,²⁷ Senior Merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Ann Paul.

William, Johnson Chaplain.

1784. January 24.—Captain Charles Baker, Commander of a Country Vessel, and Mrs. Michaela Thompson, Widow.

1784. January 25.—Lawrence Barnwell, Sergeant and Mary Ann Mitchell, Widow.

Note.—Copy and duplicate sent Home. William Johnson, Chaplain.

1784. February 4.—Mr. Chas. Chapman,²² Junior Merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Mary Williams.²³

1784. February 5.—Mr. Thomas Call,²⁴ Captain of Engineers, and Miss Bethia Blackburn.

1784. February 11.—Mr. Hugh Darley and Mrs. Ann Ogden, Widow.

William Johnson, Chaplain.

1784. June 24.—Lieutenant James Turnbull, in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service, and Miss Anne Porterfield. William Johnson, Chaplain.

1784. September 4.—John Martin of Calcutta, Victualler, a Batchelor, and Martha Bear of the same place, Spinster, by Licence from the Supreme Court. Present: ———.

²⁸ *Rumbold, G.* Afterwards Sir George Berriman Rumbold, and Bart., British Resident at Hamburg. Baptised at Calcutta, 1764. His widow married Admiral Sir W. Sidney Smith.

²⁷ *Graham, T. & A.* Patrons of the young naval hero T. H. Graham. *Despatch Officer*, p. 177, and *Firminger*: *Thacker's Guide to Calcutta*, p. 94.

²² *Chapman, C.* Sydney Grier writes: "C. C. was another of the young Civil Servants who attached themselves to Hastings with an affection that bordered on idolatry. At the beginning of his service he appears to have acted for a time as Private Secretary. . . . In 1773 Hastings employed him to explore the coast of Cochlin China and penetrate as far inland as he could. At the end of 1781 he was sent to Nagpur as Agent at the Berar Durbar." He was sent to succeed Cleveland at Bhagulpore, Collector of Rangpur, 1784. Sec. of Revenue about 1786. Returned from India with a fortune of £20,000 and sat in Parliament as M. P. for Newton, Devonshire. Reduced his fortune to £10,000 chiefly by gambling. Died 1809.

²³ *Williams, Miss M.* Came out to India commended to the care of the Hastings by "Miss Mary" Barwell, the energetic and business-like sister of Richard Barwell. See references to Sidney Grier, *Op. Cit.*

²⁴ *Call, T.* The author of a plan of Calcutta.

1784. September 8.—John Addison, Esq.,¹¹ Junior Merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Service, a Batchelor, and Lucy Clark of Calcutta, Spinster, by Licence. Present, Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, Esq., and Mrs. Halhed, his wife. T. Blanshard, Chaplain.

1784. October 14.—Mr. Charles Gladwin, Lieutenant in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Matilda Denton.

1784. October 15.—Mr. Fairfax Moresby, Attorney-at-Law, and Miss Mary Rotten, Spinster. T. Blanshard, Chaplain.

1784. November 4.—Mr. John White, Factor in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Matilda Denton.

1784. November 4.—Mr. Robert Tomlinson,¹² Senior Merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Charlotte Denton.

1784. November 6.—Mr. Richard Boswell Armstrong, Cadet in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service, and Miss Frances White.

1784. November 7.—Mr. William Harding, Factor in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Harriet Sweedland.

1784. November 8.—Frederick Shafalitsky de Muckadd, Esq., his Danish Majesty's Consul in India, and Mrs. Matilda Carmichael, Widow, a Daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Ole Bie, Chief of his Danish Majesty's Settlement at Serampore.

1784. November 9.—Justly Hill, Esq., and Major in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service, and Miss Dorothea Griffiths.

1784. November 15.—Mr. Richard Goodlad,¹³ Senior Merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Civil Service, and Miss Martha Redfearn, by Licence. Present: Mr. Charles Hutchinson Purling, Mr. John Shore, Mr. Claud Alexander, also Senior Merchants in the same Service, and others.

1784. November 19.—Mr. Charles Hemey Palmer, a Captain in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service, and Elizabeth Macevoy.

T. Blanshard, Chaplain.

1784. December 21.—Mr. Hugh Castlemann, Pilot in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Carolina Jennings, Spinster.

1784. December 23.—Thomas Bolton, Esq., a Major in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Sarah Rowe, Spinster.

¹¹ *Addition, J.* Represented General Clavering on the famous 20th June 1777 when the Judges decided whether or no Hastings or Clavering was Governor-General. Judge of the Mofussil Dewani Adaulas at Nattore, 1782.

¹² *Tomlinson, R.* Master of Lodge Star in the East.

¹³ *Goodlad, R.* See *Dingal: Past and Present*, Vol. IV., No. 9, page 511 footnote. For Mrs. M. Goodlad see *Bengal Directory*, page 73. See also *East Bengal and Aracan District Records, Rungpore* (to be published shortly). The *Calcutta Gazette*, 29th March 1787, reports "D. H. Mandowall, Esq., confirmed Collector of Rungpore, with the addition of Gungaut, hitherto under R. Goodlad, Esq." Is list of Calcutta Grand Jury, December, 1785.

1784. December 31.—Mr. Edward Otto Ives,²⁴ Junior Merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Arabella Rotten, Spinster.

T. Blanshard, Chaplain.

N.B.—A Copy of Duplicate of the Register of Marriages for the year 1784 were sent to the Court of Directors by the *Berrington* and *Hilsborough* Indiamen.

T. B. Chaplain.

1785. January 14.—Mr. Charles Pickman, monthly writer in the Office of Ordnance, and Elizabeth Crahley, Spinster.

1785. January 29.—Mr. Edward Hardwicke, of Barrypore, and Mrs. Mary Porter, Widow.

T. Blanshard, Chaplain.

1785. March 19.—John Lacey,²⁵ a Bachelor, Shopkeeper, and Avis Hicks, Single woman.

T. Blanshard, Chaplain.

1785. April 4.—Captain James Meredith Vibart, and Miss Juliana Williams.

1785. April 20.—John Davis, Sergeant-Major of Sepoys, and Hannah Coreah, a Native Christian.

1785. April 21.—Mr. Stackhouse Tolfrey,²⁶ Attorney-at-law, and Miss Gertrude Messinck.

T. Blanshard, Chaplain.

1785. May 16.—Mr. James Reeves and Miss Mary Murray.

1785. May 21.—Mr. William Ledlie²⁷ and Miss Anne Creighton.

T. Blanshard, Chaplain.

1785. June 1.—Ensign Joseph Harvey Bellas and Miss Sarah Williams.

1785. June 17.—Gabriel Johnston, Esq., Major in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Felicieuse Georgette Marie Kaulle.

1785. June 20.—Bryant Mason,²⁸ Esq., and Miss Elizabeth Brown.

T. Blanshard, Chaplain.

1785. July 10.—William Cole, Mariner, and Johanna DeRozario, Single-woman.

1785. August 6.—Mr. James Forbes²⁹ and Miss Priscilla Bradshaw.

1785. August 14.—Anthony Coss, Batchelor, and Mary Ling, Single-woman.

T. Blanshard, Chaplain.

²⁴ *Ives, E. O.* Judge of the Mofussil Diwani Adalat at Moosshedabad, 1782.

²⁵ *Lacey, J.* See Mrs. Fay's *Original Letters* (Reprint), p. 194. Mrs. Lacey perished in the wreck of the *Seven Flocks* in the Hugli, 5th September 1786.

²⁶ *Tolfrey, S.* For Samuel Tolfrey, see *Bustard's Echoes*. References to Bernard Messinck will be found in the same work.

²⁷ *Ledlie, W.* Attorney, and brother to Robert Ledlie. See Marriages 3rd January 1786. Arrived 1785. For Mrs. Ledlie see *Bengal Obituary*, p. 81. For his second Marriage see 14th February 1797. See also the C. H. Society's Reprint of Grand's *Narrative of the Life of a Gentleman long resident in India*.

²⁸ *Mason, B.* Commercial Resident at Kungpore.

²⁹ *Forbes, J.* Attorney, *Bengal Obituary*, p. 133.

1785. September 7.—Mr. Pellegrin Treves,⁴⁰ Writer in the Service, and Miss Hetty Stokes.

1785. September 8.—Mr. William Dick, Assistant Surgeon, and Miss Charlotte McClaran.

1785. September 16.—Mr. William Nathan Wright Hewett, Senior Merchant, in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Martha Tuting.

1785. September 26.—Captain William Kirkpatrick,⁴¹ and Miss Maria Pawson.

1785. September 7.—Mr. Benjamin Grindall,⁴² Senior Merchant, and Miss Charlotte Powney.

1785. September 24.—Captain Richard Scott and Miss Charlotte Jarret.

T. Blanshard, Chaplain.

1785. October 24.—Mr. William Douglas,⁴³ Senior Merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Jane Bell. T. Blanshard, Chaplain.

1785. November 6.—George Harding, Mariner, and Anna Rebeiro, Singlewoman.

1785. November 6.—Robert Atkins, Mariner, and Maria Rebeiro, Singlewoman.

1785. December 22.—Lieutenant Frederick Maitland Arnott and Miss Harriet D'Oyly Greer.

1785. December 30.—Mr. John Cordingley and Mary Downie, Widow.

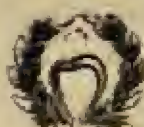
T. Blanshard, Chaplain of the Presidency of Fort William.

N.B.—Mr. Grindall's and Captain Scott's Marriages in September were not known in time to me to be entered according to their exact date.—T. B.

N.B.—A copy and Duplicate of the Register of Marriages were sent to the Court of Directors by the *King George* and *Dublin* Indiamen (for 1785).—T. B.

WALTER K. FIRMINER

(Assisted by E. WALTER MADGE).



⁴⁰ *Treves, P.* Subsequently became Postmaster General, and died at Lucknow Aug. 22, 1825. The names of several children of this marriage appear in the Baptismal Register.

⁴¹ *Kirkpatrick, W.* See the *Dictionary of National Biography* and Eackland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*. In the former the bride's surname is incorrectly given as "Rawson." She was probably the daughter of William Pawson, Senior Merchant, who was Sheriff of Calcutta in 1788.

⁴² *Grindall, B.* Judge of the Mofussil Diwan's Adalat at Tasepoor, 1782. His name appears on the Grand Jury at Calcutta, December, 1788.

⁴³ *Douglas, W.* Commissioner in Cooch Behar.

Notes on the Headquarters of the French East India Company at Hooghly.

IT is customary to date the French Commercial activities in Bengal on a considerable scale, from Dupleix (1731); but as a matter of fact between the Founder of Chandernagar and the man who virtually made it the centre of French trade in India, had intervened no less than six Directors-General of French Commerce in Bengal; and these enterprising French merchants had spotted the great emporiums of Indian merchandise and had established factories and equipped them with the men and money at their disposal; it was they that had prepared the ground from which the master mind of Dupleix was to reap such a splendid harvest.

In 1686, M. Duplessis had secured a *patta* from Ibrahim Khan, Nabab of Bengal, and laid the foundation of the "loge" at Balasor. The Company had taken up position at "Cassimbazard" in 1697 but owing to some local disturbances it was temporarily given up only to be re-occupied in 1707 on the strength of a concession granted by Mahammed Azim Shah. In 1721 the Company purchased a village called "Bamangatty" covering an area of about 2 kilometers square. The "loge" at Dacca was founded in 1722. Jougdia, near Chittagong, was conceded to the French in 1710.

But the history of the French East India Company in Bengal from Deslandes to D'rois is buried in obscurity. I shall place at the disposal of the reader all that I have been able to unearth from the neglected heap of papers in the Government offices at Chandernagar, likely to throw some light, however feeble, upon this obscure period; and in the present article I shall confine my notes to the period when Hooghly was yet the headquarters of the French East India Company.

In 1691, a schismatic dispute with the Augustine Friars at Bandel led the French to take up a position, further down the river below Chinsurah, at Chandernagar. Vide (*Bengal: Past and Present*, April-June 1910). But the principal seat of commerce continued to be at Hooghly up to the middle of 1711. In all papers anterior to that date, Hooghly is invariably mentioned as the "Comptoir principal de la royalle Compagnie de France dans Bengale" and Chandernagar is only referred to as "le



*A Fragment of the Ghyerity Palace in the Embrace of the Firm Indica.
(Made by R. L. Albrecht.)*

terrain de la Compagnie nommé Chandernagar" (1st Oct. 1702), "ce lieu de Chandernagar de la dependance d'Ougly" (1708), "ce lieu de Chandernagar, dependance de cette ville et Gouvernement d'Ougly" (1706). In a document dated the 5th August 1705 I find, "le comptoir de Bengale estably dans ce lieu de Chandernagar, appartenant à la royalle compagnie de France." From this it may be inferred that by that time a separate factory had been equipped in Chandernagar but Hooghly is alone and invariably mentioned, before 1711, as the "Comptoir principal." It is in a document dated the 21st July 1711, that I come across for the first time the expression "La royalle compagnie de France en leur comptoir principale de Bengale estably à Chandernagar," and in all subsequent papers Chandernagar takes the place of Hooghly as the "comptoir principal" of the Company.

After Deslandes, Pierre-Dulivier became in 1702 the Director-General with Jean Samuel Delabat, Robert Reynault, François Daguin de la Blanchetiere and Brillon as councillors. In 1706 Jean Samuel Delabat is mentioned as "Chef pour Messieurs de la Royale compagnie de France." In a document dated the 8th Oct. 1708 occurs the name of François de Flacourt as Director-General at Hooghly with Delabat as his "second." In April 1711, Claude Boinin D'hardancours became the Director-General with F. D. de la Blanchetiers as his "second" and Du Caudray Bourgault and Nicolas l'Empereur (Chirurgien-Major) among the members of his Council. It was during the Directorship of D'hardancours that Hooghly was finally given up as the headquarters of the French commerce in Bengal.

A council called the "Conseil d'Administration" looked after the commercial interests of the Company at its headquarters at Hooghly. It consisted of five members or "conseillers" including a "chef" who was called the "Directeur Generale du Commerce." The members were mere merchants or sub-merchants in the service of the Company. In their selection no great care seems to have been taken. M. H. Monin, in the *Grande Encyclopédie*, asks, "Le choix des Directeurs et des agents n'avait il pas été trop précipité?" He even accuses them of "habitudes de voleries et de concussions publiques . . . sur un plus facile théâtre."

The "Conseil d'Administration," when occasion required, transformed itself into a "Conseil de Justice" with the Director-General as the President. Laude in his *Recueil de Législation* (Paris, 1859) says, "L'Administration de la justice rentrait, au siècle dernier, dans les attributions du Conseil-souverain. Un conseil avait été institué par édit de février 1701. Il était composé des directeurs généraux de la compagnie en cas qu'il s'en trouvât à Pondichery; et en leur absence, du directeur general du comptoir des marchands pour la compagnie y résident. Il ne pouvait rendre arrêt

en matière civil qu'au nombre de trois juge, et en matière criminelle, qu'au nombre de cinq. Un tribunal dit de la *Chaudrie* était chargé de rendre la justice aux natifs." This arrangement continued till 1772.

Besides the Council house and the law courts there was a prison and a hospital of the French Company at Hooghly.

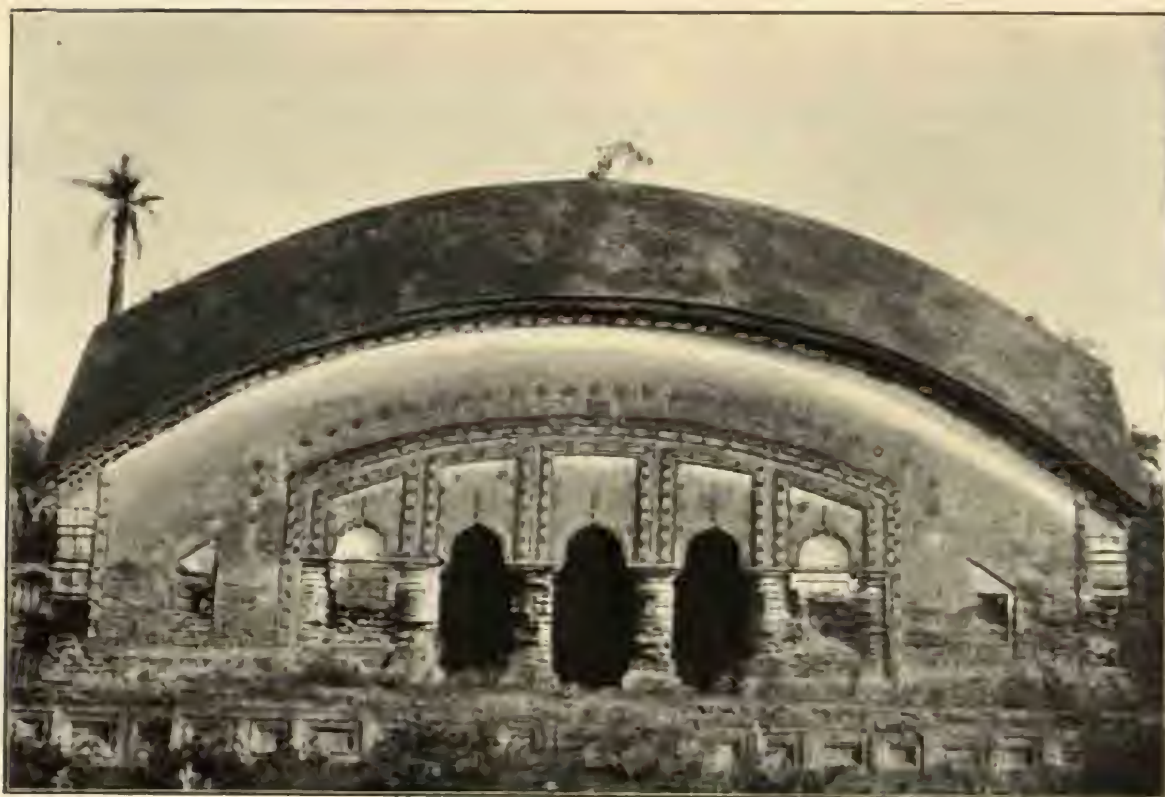
A declaration was recorded by order of M. Pierre Dulivier, of a woman named "Marie Pallais dit Le Fleur" prisoner, concerning her debts "tant actives que passives." The declaration was taken down by the greffier (Blanchetière) in the presence of Jean Baptiste Brillon "Sous marchand" and Jean Anthoine de l'Épinay, "Commis," in the prison of the "Comptoir principal d'Ougly" on Sunday the 7th January 1704. Among other things the prisoner declares that she owes Rs. 19 to "Bouchetondas Baignan" (evidently Boishnavadas, benian) and Rs. 5 to her tailor, a Mahomedan. She adds that she has "remis avant sa prison neuf sacs de couris (cowries) entre les mains de Sr. Blethon" who will render an account of them. Anthoine Blethon was the Treasurer of the Company at Hooghly. The cause of her imprisonment does not appear.

In the testament of one Baltazar Renil dated 1st May 1705, mention is made of a hospital belonging to the Royal Company of France at Hooghly where the testator lies ill and where the will is made; among other things left by the testator is a bale of mousseline (muslin) containing 19½ pieces and 14 sacs of rice entrusted to a Mahomedan Merchant.

Merchant vessels of the French Company sailed up to the "Royal Port" of Hooghly as is evident from the following extracts from a deed of sale dated the 19th November 1703.

"Messieurs Pierre du Livier Directeur-General du Commerce de la Royale Compagnie de France des Indes Orientales, Robert Reynault, Conseiller et Anthoine Mathos, Marchand de la dite compagnie, Marchand sur le Navire Nommé *le Pontchartrain* . . . ont . . . vendu à Monsieur Johan Joachim Micheelsen, Directeur de la Royale compagnie de Dannemark, le vaisseau *le Pontchartrain* présentement mouillé dans le Ganges devant ce Comptoir principal d'Ougly, appartenant à Messieurs les Directeurs généraux de la Royale Compagnie de France . . . du port de six cent tonneaux ou environ avec les canons, ancres, cordages, manœuvres, agrès et ustensiles . . . moyennant le prix et somme de dix neuf mille roubles courantes. Fait et passé au comptoir français principal d'Ougly en présence de Messieurs Gregoire Bouttet, marchand particulier et Louis Tremenes secrétaire de la dite Compagnie de France."

The sale of the *Pontchartrain* tells a rather gloomy tale of the finances and trade of the Company at the time. I reproduce below another sale-deed, which while proving the existence of the French headquarters at Hooghly in



The Temple of Nanda Dulal, Chandernagore. Looking South,
(Photo by R. L. Mukherjee.)



Old Carved Benches said to have been the Property of the Burdwan Pretender
—the Bengali Tichborne.
(Photo by S. N. Ghosh.)

1704, may also be found otherwise interesting; it is dated the 10th September 1704.

" Le Sieur Louis Yamada de Acha Ribeiro, Capitaine du Navire Nommé *La Ducine Providence* du frest de 2,500 mans ou environ, de present moullé dans le Ganges vis à vis du Comptoir principal de MM. de la Royal C^e de France establi à Ougly, lequel a volontairement reconue...avoir venduà M. Gregoire Bouttet le dit vaisseau N^o *La Ducine Providence* avec les anchres, manouvres, armes, cordages, agreils et ustencils cy après spécifiés, scavoir :—

Le Corps du Vaisseau.

Le grand mast

Le mast miscenne.

Le mast de beaupré.

Les trois vergues de dits mats.

Les manœuvres, coulantes et dormantes usées et hors de service.

Un canot avec deux anirons.

Huit fusils et mousquetons, quatre pistolets.

Trois vieux cables de gamolys.

Cinq vieille voiles usées.

Deux epicoire de fer.

Dix à douze livres de vieille ferraille.

Une simple garniture de pomp.

Une hachet.

Une couteau ou hachereau à coups de bois.

Une ancre ou grappin de fer à quatre branches du poids de 332 livres.

Une ancre de bois.

Une lampe de cuivre pour habitacle.

Deux fers d'escouille.

Le tout moyennant le prix.....de 1010 roupies courantes."

(Sd.) DE LA MORANDIERE

MOUNASSE.

LOUIS YAMADA DE ACHA RIB

BOUTET. DE LA BLANCHTIERE.

There was a regular pilot service between Balasor and Hooghly to convey the vessels of the Company up and down the river. The pilots, who were in the employ of the French East India Company, were permitted to lend their services to private merchants, as will appear from the following contract which I transcribe *in extenso*.

« Per devant moy Greffier du Conseil du Comptoir principal de Bengale soussigné, sont comparus Anthoine de Rotte, Michel Fournier, Guillaume des Mares, et Julien Tassin, tous les quatre pilotes du Ganges au service de la

Royale C^{te} de France. Les quels pour obvier aux disputes et différentes que pourroient naistre dans la fuite du temps entre eux sur la repartition des denniers et sommes provenantes de l'entrée et sortie du vaisseaux estrangeres dans le Ganges sont de leur franche et libre volonté et tous d'un commun accord convenus de ce qui suit.

Que celui d'entre eux qui entrera ou sortira un vaisseau etranger aura et prendra par preference vingt p. % sur la somme principale et que du restant de la ditte somme sera fait quatre portions egales dont chacun des dites quatre pilotes en aura une, et comme celui qui entre ou sort un vaisseau, touche ordinnainement tous le prix convenues avec le Bourgeois ou Nacoda les dites pilotes sont tombés d'accord que celui qui aura entré un vaisseau sera tenu et obligé après avoir retirés les 20 p. % qui luy sont accordés par preference et outre cela sa quote part dans le restant de la somme, de remettre incessamment les trois autres portions entre les mains du Cassier de ce Comptoir, et si c'est pour la sortie d'un vaisseau il sera tenu de remettre sans delay les dites trois portions entre les mains de celui qui sera preposé au Comptoir de Balasor, En cas qu'il y aille avant que de venir dans celui d'Ougly. Faute de quoy le contrevenant au present accord payera a ses trois associés outre leur dues la somme de deux cent roupies qui sera reparties également entre les trois et sera prise sur les appointemens dues au contrevenant par la ditte Compagnie car ainsy a esté convenu et accordé entre les parties. Faite et passi au greffe du dit Conseil en présence des sieurs J. Anthoine de l'Epinay et Alexandre Le Gou, commis de la ditte C^{te} le Lundy Vingtunieme jour d'avril. Mil sept cent quatre avant midy et ont signé.

ANTOINE DE ROTE.

+ Marque de MICHEL FOURNIER.

GUILLAUME DEMARS.

JULIEN TASCINS.

LEGOU.

L'EPINAY.

BLANCHTIERE.

The pilots made large fortunes out of this business; Fournier, the illiterate first pilot of the Company, left by his will (1712) a property worth several thousands, including a large house in Chandernagore and one in Balasor; he owned no less than thirteen slaves.

I close the present article by reproducing at length an affidavit of a French surgeon who went out of his way to trade in Arabia and came to grief.

"Je soussigné Jaques Jouyes Chirurgien Français au service de la royale C^{te} de France du commerce des Indes orientales, certifie at jure devant Dieu et en mon conscience que m'estant embarqué à Bengale dans



Ruins assigned to the Mughatta Râil on February 13th, 1748.
(Photo by R. L. Mukerjee.)



Ruin of the House of Indra Narayan Chowdhry, Chander nagore.
(Photo by S. N. Ghosh.)

le mois de fevrier mil sept cent sur le vaisseau n^o Le Diamant commandé par le capitaine Kacrof anglois de nation pour faire le voyage de Jeda dans le mer rouge. Je chargé pour mon compte et risque sur le dit vaisseau cent pieces de mallemolle et septante pieces de garras spécifiés, dans le certificat ci-dissus pour le prit et somme marqués (malma—" tirant chaque piece 40 cobes de longuer sur $2\frac{1}{4}$ cobes de largeur pour le prix de 694 roupies"; garras—" tirant chaque piece 36 cobes de longuer sur $2\frac{1}{4}$ de largeur pour le prix de 147 roupies"). Toutes lesquelles marchandises m'ont esté pillées et enlevées au dit lieu de Jeda par les Turcs, avec celle du dit vaisseau. En foy du quoy Jey signé le present certificat pour valoir et servir à ce que sera de raison. Fait au comptoir français de Bengale estably à Chandernagar le vendredi neuvieme jour de Janvier mil sept cent cinq.

(Sd.) J. JOURNES"

CHARU CHANDRA RAY.



A Narrative of the Campaign in Bengal in 1760.

COMMUNICATED BY COLONEL IRONSIDE.

(FROM THE ASIATIC ANNUAL REGISTER, 1800.)



IN the latter end of the month of November 1759, Major Caillaud arrived at Fort William with a reinforcement of troops from Fort St. George, to succeed Colonel Clive and Colonel Ford in the command of the army in Bengal, both of whom, in the month of February following, quitted India to return to Europe.

The disputes with the Dutch were by this time entirely at an end; yet the English troops still continued in the field, for it was deemed necessary by Colonel Clive (when he could do it with security) to send another detachment this year to the westward, to aid the Nabob in opposing the incursions of Shah Zadah, upon the borders of his dominions.

Early in this month, the Shah Zadah, reviving his former plan, began to entertain the same views, which had in the preceding campaign been defeated by the skill and enterprize of Colonel Clive. An unpardonable negligence on the one side, and the usual and known caprice of the people of the country, ever aspiring after novelty, on the other, afforded him both the time and means he wished for, and encouraged him with no unreasonable expectation of a happy turn in his favour.

From the time Colonel Clive left the field, no troops had been sent by Ramnarrain, the Governor of Patna; nor were there any other measures undertaken by him to re-establish the internal tranquillity, or to secure the boundaries of the province. The petty Rajahs of the inferior districts were disregarded; and, while the whole country remained unsettled and every chief was setting up for himself, these people, utterly neglected and unobserved, embraced the lucky moment to assert an independency, and afterwards united with that power which they trusted could best support them in it. There were some included whom a due ascendancy might have still kept in awe, and preserved faithful to their duty; but, being under no control whatever, they readily accepted of the offers which were made to them by the opposite party. Others, again, and these not a few, or unimportant, sent

secret and repeated invitations to the Prince, and assurances of support whenever he should exert himself. These were a people studious only of their own advantage, eager to perplex, and to profit from the misfortunes of the times, and prepared to join with any side that should prove most powerful.

From such errors, and from such people, the party of the Shah Zadah, at the latter end of the year 1759, began insensibly to be restored, and his faction to extend, inconsiderable in the beginning, and so weak, that had a body of one thousand horse only been properly disposed at first, they might have then effectuated, what forty thousand proved insufficient for afterwards, and the name of the Shah Zadah would have no more been heard of. About this time, likewise, there was another favourable incident, which contributed, more than all the rest, to augment the number of his friends, to add dignity to his name, and to assemble fresh followers to his standard. The present young and enterprising Vizier, Ghaze O'Deen Khan, by the murder of a former King, raised Allumgeer, the father of the Shah Zadah, to the throne of Hindustan; but, some time after, being dissatisfied with his own election in the person of this Prince, he imprisoned him, kept him in close confinement for several years, drove his children (among the rest Shah Zadah) from Delhi, and at length, to complete his system, he murdered him also, and proclaimed another Sovereign at that capital.

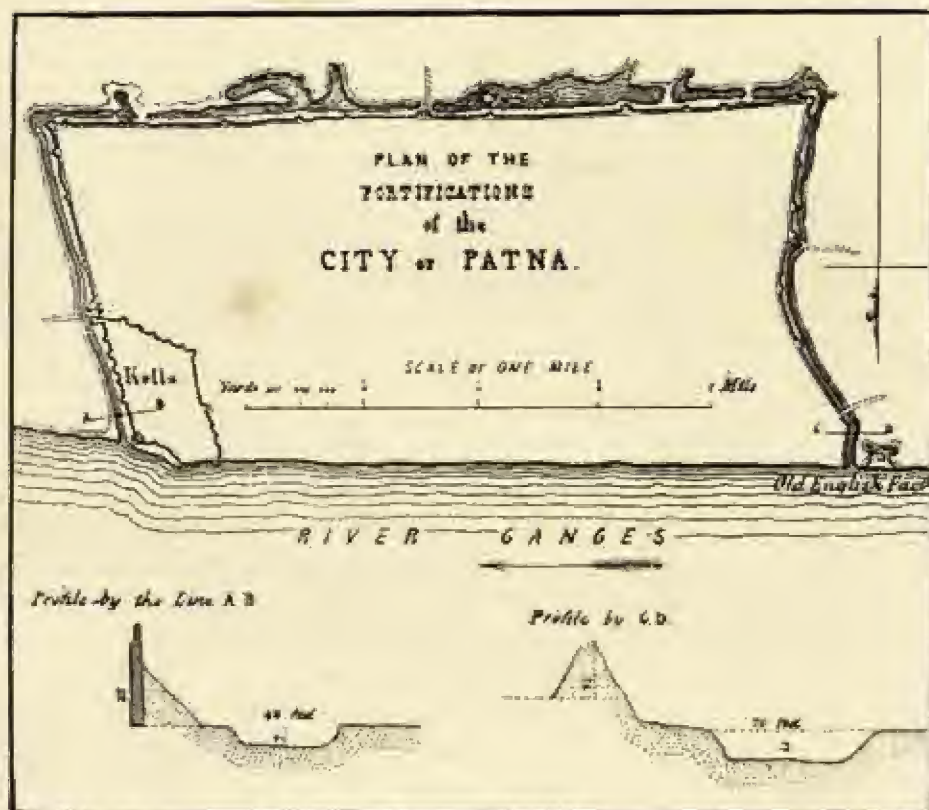
When the news of his father's assassination reached the Shah Zadah, he did not long delay to advance his title to the inheritance of his ancestors. He caused himself to be acknowledged King immediately by his dependants; he was recognized as such by his followers; and he demanded homage and obeisance from the Nabob of Bengal. His right to the Crown being incontestably a just one, many principal Rajahs were, on that consideration, induced to unite with him to support his cause; and at the commencement of the year 1760, he found himself at the head of an army of thirty thousand men, with a much stronger and more popular claim than formerly. With this army he marched into the Nabob's dominions, eager to retrieve the disappointment of his last campaign.

In this manner were affairs circumstanced, when an English detachment of three hundred men, with six field-pieces and one battalion of sepoy, commanded by Major Caillaud, joined to fifteen thousand horse and foot, and twenty-five pieces of cannon, under the eldest son of the Nabob, named Miram, moved from Moorshedabad, on the 18th of January, towards Patna. The army having gained the passes of Suckliagully, which divide the province of Bengal from that of Bahar, by the 30th, were detained there seven or eight days in a negotiation with the Rajah of Purneah (a person whom there will be again occasion to mention), who, from some difference arising between the Nabob and him, had collected forces to the amount of six or

seven thousand men, and threatened to declare for the Shah Zadah. Major Caillaud, however, unwilling at such a juncture to leave an enemy in his rear, interposed to effect a reconciliation. These disputes were, for a short time, amicably compromised; and the armies were again permitted to pursue their March.

The Shah Zadah, during this period, had penetrated as far as Patna, with a design to attack Ramnarrain, the Governor of that city, before he could be assisted by the forces then marching from Moorshedabad. Ramnarrain, though he had been so inattentive to his enemy at a distance, and, while regardless of him, so unmindful of the real interests of his master, was now amply provided for his own defence, and to oppose his further progress. He had completed his forces in December, when the danger became more immediate; to the number of forty thousand, with twenty pieces of cannon: he was reinforced with 70 Europeans, two field-pieces, and a battalion of sepoy, under the command of Lieutenant Cochran, from the English factory; and the Shah Zadah found this army encamped under the walls of the city. Upon his approach, Ramnarrain moved something nearer to him; and the two camps were many days within a short distance of each other: but nothing more passed than a few skirmishes between small parties; for Major Caillaud had wrote peremptory instructions to Ramnarrain, to protract the time by every means in his power, and upon no consideration whatever to hazard a battle until his arrival. The same was the purport of the Nabob his master's positive orders to him; and for a little while he prudently observed them, and kept his army intrenched within strong lines, purposely to avoid an action: but long before their junction with him could be formed, this rash, inconsiderate man, even at the very moment, too, justly jealous of the fidelity of many of his commanders, deluded by some imaginary advantage, elated with a confidence in his forces, or buoyed up with the hope of a victory, the honour and merit of which would devolve solely to himself, drew out his army on the 9th of February, offered battle to the Shah Zadah, and, after a short contest, was entirely defeated.

Yet, to do justice to his personal conduct, it must be owned Ramnarrain himself behaved with distinguished gallantry fighting hand to hand with one of the Shah Zadah's principal commanders: he was wounded in several parts of his body, and lost two fingers of his right hand. The chief cause of his defeat was the posting the English troops too far from his own person, and the desertion of the three most powerful Rajahs of his party, one of whom attacked the English, another fell upon his rear, and the third rode clear off in the heat of the action. By the desertion of these, the remainder of his troops, after a short but able resistance, betook themselves to flight, and left him defended only by a few of his household troops, assailed on every





side. The elephant he was mounted upon kneeling, the howdah almost cut off from his back, and at last reduced to the utmost extremity, he was compelled to send for succour to the English: Lieutenant Cochran, Ensign Winklebleck, and Mr. Barwell (a young gentleman of the English factory, who went that day a volunteer to the battle,) instantly marched to his relief with four hundred sepoy. This little body pierced through every obstacle to his aid, and, attacking with great spirit the party by which he was surrounded, enabled him to effect his retreat into Patna. The enemy, however, pushed this advantage with great impetuosity, again and again repulsing fresh parties which advanced towards them, and, at length, attempted to re-unite themselves to their own body; but before they could accomplish it, Cochran, Winklebleck and Barwell were killed; and the sepoy being left without an officer, the horse broke in among them, and cut most of them to pieces, only one serjeant and twenty-five sepoy escaping. The rest of the English troops, when they perceived the day was irrecoverably lost, made good their retreat to the city; having done so much mischief where they engaged, that the enemy would no more venture to approach them, but opening to the right and left, permitted them to pass without interruption: they left, indeed, one field-piece spiked behind them, which had broken down during the engagement. Thus concluded the battle of Mussimpoore; in consequence of which the Shah Zadah, without delay, invested Patna.

This siege was of very short duration, for Ramnarrain, though severely wounded, yet did his utmost to defend the city and at the same time contrived to deceive the Shah Zadah by a true Hindu spirit, of negotiating, sometimes soothing him with the hopes of a surrender, and imposing various other pretences to amuse him, until Major Caillaud and the young Nabob, by continued and forced marches, arrived on the 19th of February, within twenty-eight miles of Patna. Alarmed at this sudden and unexpected approach, the Prince was obliged hastily to withdraw his army from before the town; and he determined, without hesitation, to advance towards the Nabob, and force him to an immediate battle. He struck his camp the very next morning, and approached that day within a short distance of the young Nabob's advanced posts. The day following, Lieutenant Cochran's sepoy having joined the English troops, Major Caillaud advised attacking the enemy directly; but the aspect of the stars not just then smiling on the young Nabob, who forgot not, on so critical an occasion, to divine their influence by his astrologers, the attack was deferred until 22nd, when *they* promised to be more propitious. Accordingly on the 22nd, early in the morning, all planetary points being adjusted, the army marched towards the enemy; but before they arrived near their camp, the morning was so far

spent by the insufferable delays of the Nabob's march, that Major Caillaud was obliged to defer his intention of bringing on a battle until the following day, that he might have time enough before him: he therefore prepared to encamp within two or three miles of the enemy, as near as he could well approach without alarming them too much. During the time the tents were pitching, Major Caillaud rode towards the camp of the enemy, to observe their position, and to view the situation of the intervening ground. Perceiving all quiet on their side, he took possession of two villages, about a mile in the front of his own camp, but situated rather obliquely with respect to that of the enemy, and nearly the same distance from the centre. In each of those villages were posted a company of sepoy, and the remainder of the same battalion four hundred paces in the rear, to support them in case of an alarm. By some flying parties of horse, the enemy presently discerned the near approach the English troops had made towards them; upon which they brought up some pieces of cannon in their front. In answer to this, the battalion of sepoy was ordered to move up; and a picquet of Europeans, with two six-pounders, were detached from the camp to maintain the villages. After this, both sides remained quiet for an hour: at the expiration of that time, notice was sent from the villages, that the enemy were seen to be in motion on all sides; and Major Caillaud, hastening to an eminence on the left, found that they had struck their camp and were actually in full march. A considerable body of horse rising soon after from behind a small hill on the right, and making directly towards the villages, confirmed beyond a doubt their design to bring on an action that day. Orders were, therefore, instantly given for the English troops to march and for the young Nabob with his army to follow. On their arrival at the chosen ground, the English detachment was formed between the two above-mentioned villages—the Europeans in the centre, the sepoy divided upon the right and left of them, the artillery in the intervals, and the villages with a company of sepoy in each, upon the flanks of the whole, and in this order, as the enemy seemed determined to attack, Major Caillaud resolved to receive them.

The young Nabob, by a very easy disposition before agreed on, and what the nature of the ground seemed to invite him to, was to have formed a second line with his troops with a body of horse to cover each flank. From this order the first line of the English troops, with the villages, would have secured his front, and his wings only would have been left extended; so that the enemy must first either have broken through the English, or have suffered a severe fire upon their flank in coming round to attack him; but, regardless of all this, he crowded his whole army in a confused multitude on the right; nor could the most pressing and repeated felicitations induce him to alter his position, or to form his troops in a more distinct order; but

there they remained, a body of 15,000 men, with a front of scarce 200 yards, in a tumultuous heap; and to this inflexibility had he very nearly sacrificed both himself and people.

The enemy came on with great spirit, though with much irregularity, and in many separate bodies, after the Eastern manner of fighting. In appearance they directed their principal effort to the left of the English, having stationed one large body there in the beginning, and now pushing on another to support them. To give some check to this effort, the artillery was ordered a few paces in front; and being directed to the left, a few discharges effectually repressed the ardour of their approach on that side. Unable to stand so hot a fire, they divided; some filed off towards their own right, but the most part kept still inclining, under cover of some banks and ditches more and more towards the left of the English, till at last they got quite round into their rear. There they remained for some time: for an object of much more importance now diverted all attention the other way.

The enemy had long descried the young Nabob from the number of horse, elephants and standards with which he was surrounded. Their motion to the left appeared only to amuse the English: while led on by their most resolute commanders, they bore down the best and bravest of their troops against the young Nabob. This being observed, all the artillery was ordered to be drawn up on the right, which, together with five or six large cannon in front of the Nabob, fired briskly as the first body of the enemy came on, in a long and deep column; but four guns breaking down after a few discharges by the roughness of the ground, and the Nabob's cannon being quickly deserted, it produced little effect. Both sides were now closely engaged—the enemy by the Nabob with great resolution—they charged in a tremendous manner, horse and foot indiscriminately mixed, and with variety of weapons; arrows, pikes, swords, match-locks, etc. In about ten minutes the Nabob began to give way. The enemy pressed on, while the Nabob only acted on the defensive.

At this critical juncture, Major Caillaud ordered up a battalion of sepoy from the right, and led them on to succour the Nabob. The sepoy marched steadily, and drew up within forty yards of the enemy's flank. They poured in one well-levelled fire, and then a second; after which they pushed on with their bayonets, and so much disconcerted the enemy,—already confused enough in making the attack, that they recoiled upon each other, and part immediately fled. The Nabob's horse, recovered by this seasonable relief, galloped in amongst them at the instant of their confusion, and dispersed the rest; none of them attempted to rally, and the whole plain was as clear in half an hour as if no enemy had been near it. But while they were thus repulsed in front, the party which at first had advanced on the left marched

round to the rear, unobserved in the heat of the battle, and plundered the English camp; but most of the baggage, elephants, camels, etc., were recovered in the pursuit, which the approach of night prevented continuing beyond two or three miles. The action lasted near four hours. A very inconsiderable number fell on either side, but the rout was complete. The English lost a few sepoys only, and they took seventeen pieces of cannon. Of note among the slain were an uncle of the young Nabob's and the two commanders of the Shah Zadah, who led on the attack. The young Nabob himself received two wounds in his face and neck with arrows.

Very little, if any, advantage whatsoever was derived from the victory at Seerpore, further than striking the enemy with a momentary fright; nor did even their apprehensions subsist for any length of time. The young Nabob, conceiving his wounds, though slight scratches, of a most dangerous tendency, immediately after the battle retired to Patna, and would neither pursue the Shah Zadah himself, nor suffer part of his horse to march with Major Caillaud, who impatiently and incessantly urged him to it, and offered, with any addition to his own small body, to follow the Shah Zadah, and, while his troops were scattered, in amazement at their late defeat, and without a head, to drive him from the province. Through jealousy, anxious lest the reputation of Major Caillaud should increase to the extenuation of his own, or unwilling to crush an enemy at once, whom he was certain he could always reduce with the help of the English allies; an enemy, too, by whose existence alone he retained the power he then possessed, and the large army he then commanded; or from some such sinister motives, he absolutely refused to let the Major have a single man. Thus were those precious moments lost, from the neglect of which have sprung all the mischiefs which have since ensued. Major Caillaud ordered his troops to encamp between Patna, and the town of Bar. The Nabob escaped to Patna, and buried himself in his zenana.

The night of his defeat, the Shah Zadah fled to the town of Bar, ten miles only from the field of battle. The two following days restored to him the greatest part of his dissipated forces, whom their own terrors, more than the reality of the danger, had dispersed. Upon recollecting his spirits, encouraging those of his people, and upon a review of his army, he found his affairs very far from being as yet in a desperate condition. Not many of his forces were missing; there was no enemy very near him; he had the same resources as before, and the country was as open to him as ever. Moved by these considerations, he resolved immediately to undertake some sudden enterprize, before any suspicion could be formed of his loss being so soon repaired, or the truth of his designs be discovered. Among the many expedients which presented themselves, he fixed on one, which, at the



OLD ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AT PATNA.
(Photo by P. A. Selfe, Esq.)



PATNA CEMETERY.
(Photo by P. A. Selfe, Esq.)



PATNA CEMETERY.
(Photograph by P. A. Selfe, Esq.)



PATNA CEMETERY.
(Photograph by A. de Cosson, Esq.)



same time that it evinced the propriety of his judgment, and shewed that he did not want talents to improve a happy opportunity, had every probable appearance of success; and was certainly the likeliest means, if not to complete his views, at least to improve the nature of his circumstances; and experience would have proved the truth of this, had the same spirit which inspired the thought, accompanied him in the execution of it.

The young Nabob, having afforded his enemy all the leisure he wanted, and at last satiated with his pleasure, thought it was now time to observe what the Shah Zadah had been doing. Accordingly he joined Major Caillaud with his army on the 29th of February, and made a slow march or two towards Bar; but his surprise was great, when he was informed the Prince was in the field again, and not at Bar, but had made two forced marches beyond him towards Bengal. Major Caillaud had long before predicted to him the possibility of this manœuvre; but he remained utterly incredulous, nor used any precautions to prevent such an attempt; and, when convinced of the truth of it, only wondered how such an amazing circumstance could happen.

The enemy, having made two forced marches with intention to enter Bengal, to which they had been often invited by many dissaffected Rajahs (particularly Caudim Hussein Khan, the Rajah of Purneah, who had again revolted), obliged the young Nabob to make all imaginable haste after them, and, if possible, to prevent their progress. Major Caillaud marched his troops directly towards the river, and embarked them on board the boats which at that time accompanied the army, and left the young Nabob and his force to make what expedition he could after them. The Nabob was obliged to exert himself on this occasion; and luckily, on the third day, the enemy, as their route lay by the river side, were by the English and the Nabob's horse overtaken. The Shah Zadah, from this instance, perceived at once the impossibility of his marching into Bengal by the direct road which leads along the banks of the Ganges; because the English, by means of their boats transporting them down the river, could at any time possess themselves of the passes, which are the entrance to Bengal on that side; by which means, as the young Nabob would remain in his rear, he would be shut up between two armies. Yet, far from being deterred by this obstacle, he persevered in his resolution and, on the 8th of March, changing his course, directed his route over that assemblage of mountains which limit the Nabob's dominions to the southward, from a country north-east of the Deccan, and as yet but little known to us. His forces now consisting of light horse only, unincumbered by artillery or heavy baggage he easily gained two or three marches on the Nabob. Wherever he went, there was a necessity for keeping as close to him as possible. Major Caillaud and the Nabob, therefore,

continued to follow him, and led them through a country ever before deemed inaccessible to an army, for the number of close thick woods and narrow passes, which considerably retarded their progress, and rendered their movements extremely difficult. The passage of one pass, in particular, detained the Shah Zadah so long, that the English troops arrived, on the 22nd of March, on the ground which he had quitted but two days before; the regularity of their march having carried them through in a much shorter time. The interval, likewise, spent in these transactions, forwarded the advices to Moorshedabad, and enabled the old Nabob to collect an army, sustained by two hundred Europeans, detached to his assistance from Fort-William, and to march out for the preservation of his capital. From this time till the Prince had entered Bengal, nothing more happened than a series of toilsome and intricate marches after him, in which Major Caillaud met with successive difficulties to encounter, from the perplexities of the country, for the subsistence both of the Nabob's army and his own, for the conducting the artillery (whole days being sometimes employed in cutting roads to convey it a few miles only) and lastly, for directing the route of the army, as guides could but seldom be procured, the few rude inhabitants of the valleys having fled into the mountains. Such obstacles less experience as a soldier might have found wholly insurmountable. In the latter end of March the Shah Zadah had advanced within thirty miles west of Moorshedabad, on the side of the Bardwan province, to the dismay and astonishment of the inhabitants, who most of them immediately fled. He was there joined by a party of Mahrattas, who had lately broke into the country on that side; and with them he intended to enter the city.

But, now, when the time was come that called upon Shah Zadah for the exertion of his utmost fortitude, to execute the very purpose for which he had advanced so far, and endured so much, such an opportunity, too, as he ought to have wished for, his constancy forsook him. Either from irresolution, from some dissension among his commanders, perhaps not finding his cause so warmly espoused in the province as he expected or from whatever motive, he committed a capital and unpardonable error in hesitating to attack the old Nabob immediately, and while the two armies were divided. This delay completely ruined his designs, at first so masterly concerted, and, till then, with so much steadiness pursued; for, in the meantime, Major Caillaud and the young Nabob, by constant uninterrupted marches, had time to throw themselves between him and the city. On the 4th of April the old Nabob and his son formed a junction of their two armies near Burdwan, and Major Caillaud detached the two hundred Europeans, which accompanied the old Nabob to Moorshedabad, for the defence of the city. The whole force of the Nabob being thus

united, he marched without delay, agreeably to the advice of Major Caillaud, to constrain him to retire from Burdwan, and to oblige him, if possible, to leave the country entirely. They found the enemy, on the 7th of April, encamped on the opposite side of the Dammoudah, a river which runs by the town of Burdwan. It being determined, at all events, to engage him, the English troops, who always formed the vanguard of the army, were preparing to ford the river, under cover of their cannon; but the Prince, observing their disposition, spared them the trouble of completing it, after half an hour's cannonading, by setting fire to his camp, and retiring with precipitation. His hopes of entering the metropolis being once defeated, he was not disposed to venture a battle to attempt it a second time; a risk now become too unequal, considering his inferiority of numbers. He preferred, therefore, the more prudent alternative, and withdrew from the province by the same track and with the same haste, that he entered it.

It was now the most natural conjecture, and what was realised in the sequel, that the Shah Zadah, on his return to Bahar, would make another attempt on the city of Patna, before the place could be relieved; all the English garrison except some sepoy's left for the protection of the factory, having been withdrawn, after the battle of Seerpore, to strengthen the army.

Attentive to this circumstance, Major Caillaud, on the 16th of April formed a detachment of two hundred chosen Europeans, with two field pieces, and one battalion of sepoy's, from a reinforcement which had joined him from Fort William, and gave the command of it to Captain Knox, an experienced officer, with instructions to march, with all possible speed, to the support of Patna.

The remainder of the English detachment, together with the army of the Nabob and his son, exceedingly harassed and spent with the length and difficulties of their late expedition, in the hottest season of the year, were ordered into quarters at Moorsshedabad.

Captain Knox pursued his route to Patna, where he arrived, 300 miles, in thirteen days; a surprising effort, considering the intense heat of the season, and that he crossed the Ganges twice on his march. The Shah Zadah, as he had some days' start of Captain Knox, and his troops being wholly composed of cavalry, reached Patna some days before him, and as suspected, had laid siege to the city; which, from the inconsiderable garrison Ramnarrain had to defend it, was already almost reduced to the last extremity. The two nights preceding Captain Knox's arrival, the Prince had made two general assaults. Part of the little French corps commanded by Mr. Law, who had joined him on his return with about four hundred of his own people, had forced into the town, but were driven out again by the bravery of those sepoy's who were left at the factory, and whom Mr. Amyatt, the Chief, had

sent to Ramnarrain's assistance. On the third night they were again preparing for an escalade on all sides, when Captain Knox appeared with a flying party in the evening. His presence so much animated the inhabitants, and dispirited the besiegers, that, though they persisted in the attack, they were repulsed without much difficulty. The remainder of Captain Knox's detachment joining him the next day, he made, the following morning, a most judicious and well-conducted sally, engaged with success against one of their principal leaders, and, with the loss of a few men only, drove them from their works, to which they never afterwards returned. The Prince, perceiving his last endeavours rendered ineffectual, was once more compelled to return, with his troops, from before Patna, and to retreat, in want of almost every necessary, to the banks of the river Soan, fifty miles west of Patna, where he was constrained to remain. This was the third time Patna had been critically preserved, within a few hours of its being lost.

While the fate of that city was depending, Caudim Hussein Khan (spoken of above as Rajah of Purneah, a province east of the Ganges), from an ancient and irreconcilable enmity subsisting between the young Nabob and him, and from some recent quarrels with the father, from whom, against all justice, he had detained the revenues of Purnea for three preceding years; and, taking advantage of the perplexity of his affairs, kept the country likewise in his own possession; determined, that he might preserve what he had already acquired, to divest himself of all subjection to his master, and to attach himself entirely to the faction of the Shah Zadah. For this purpose, he was then levying an additional body of troops, and procuring a considerable number of boats, intending to transport his army over the Ganges, whenever a favourable opportunity should offer to join that Prince.

To obviate this was now the Nabob's more immediate view. The English troops, and the army of the young Nabob, were ordered to reassemble as soon as possible; and they accordingly, on the 23rd of May, rendezvoused at Rajahmahl, a town on the Ganges, near the Pass of Suckliagully, and remained encamped there five or six days, until they were certain Caudim Hussein Khan had begun his march on the northern, or Purnea side of the river, and waited only for an occasion to cross and join the Shah Zadah. Major Caillaud, with the young Nabob, pushed forward on the southern side; and Captain Knox was ordered, with part of the garrison he commanded, to pass over the river from Patna, and endeavour to intercept Caudim Hussein Khan, or, in any manner he could, to distress and harass him on his march. The number of boats which Caudim Hussein Khan had been long in collecting, fell soon after into the hands of the English, being unable to proceed so fast as his army; for Major Caillaud, being apprised of

the place where they lay, detached a battalion of sepoy, who destroyed and burnt them all, after a slight resistance, together with a large quantity of powder, stores, ammunition, etc. Notwithstanding this loss, Caudim Hussein Khan still advanced, till he approached near the place (almost opposite to Patna) where Captain Knox lay with his party. Sensible that his junction with the Prince depended, in a great measure, on his passing this body; because he was certain the least delay would bring Major Caillaud close on his rear, who kept boats with him, and had his troops ready to cross at a moment's warning; he determined to attack Captain Knox, a young gentleman of remarkable gallantry, and eminent for his military services, who being as ardent on his part to come to an action, on the 16th of June a very warm engagement ensued.

Captain Knox, with only two hundred Europeans, one battalion of sepoy, five field-pieces, and about three hundred horse, maintained himself, for six hours, opposed to an army of 12,000 men, with thirty pieces of cannon. He was totally surrounded the whole time; but, discovering the real superiority of the enemy, who were never before supposed to be so numerous, he possessed himself of a strong and advantageous post, and, making an excellent position, ultimately compelled the enemy to leave the field, with the loss of eight pieces of cannon, three elephants, and between three or four hundred men killed; the horse had once very nearly broke in upon him, but, by the bravery of his own grenadiers, were beaten off. He lost no more than fifteen or sixteen men. By this repulse, the progress of Caudim Hussein Khan towards the Prince was effectually impeded. He was obliged now to take a contrary road, and fled northward into the district of Buttlah. Four or five days after this, Major Caillaud and the young Nabob crossed their troops over the Ganges, to put the finishing stroke to the affair, and to relieve Captain Knox, who was thought rather too weak to pursue such numbers. He, therefore, with his detachment, was ordered to return to the garrison at Patna. After a few days' pursuit, the rear of Caudim Hussein Khan's army appeared in sight, for he was very slow in his retreat, encumbered with heavy baggage, artillery, and the accumulated treasure of several years' rapine and plunder. On the 25th of June, in the morning, when the armies came in sight of each other, Caudim Hussein Khan immediately formed his troops behind some villages, and a grove, at the extremity of a large plain. The English drew up upon the plain, and, urging on to attack the villages, an action commenced between them only, by a mutual cannonading.

The enemy, by frequent motions upon the line, appeared at first inclined to make a charge with their horse; but, when the English advanced within musket shot, and had driven them from the village, and the grove, which they had taken possession of, they fled, and abandoned the remainder of

their cannon, 22 pieces, and some baggage; and it was at last discovered, that their whole intention was only to amuse the English in front, while they unloaded their treasure from the carriages in the rear, mounted it upon elephants and camels and conveyed it off. Their carriages also were left behind them. The young Nabob and his troops behaved in the skirmish in their usual manner, halting above a mile in the rear, nor even once made a motion to sustain the English. Had he but acted, on this occasion, with the least appearance of spirit, and even made a semblance of fighting, the affair must have proved decisive; nor could Caudim Hussein Khan, or his treasure have escaped. When the enemy were flying in his sight, he was even afraid to hazard a party in the pursuit, though a very few horse would have been sufficient to disperse them. The English, without any horse, fatigued with an eight hours' march, and being under arms the whole day, were incapable to attempt it. The Nabob's inactivity (to give it no worse a name), and the approach of night, favoured their escape. However, after little rest from the toils of the day, Major Caillaud persisted in the resolution to follow the enemy as long as the season would permit him (the rains having already begun to set in with excessive violence), and, if possible, by another blow effectually to complete their ruin. The road of their flight next day was spread, for miles together, with tents, carriages, and variety of baggage, which, in their hurry to get off, they could not carry with them, and were obliged to leave behind. Major Caillaud continued his pursuit four days longer; the army of the young Nabob following him; and the enemy would, most probably, in a few days more, have been overtaken, or obliged to abandon their treasure, had not a very singular and uncommon accident, as favourable to the enemy as unfortunate for the Nabob, prevented the Major proceeding any further, and disappointed every other purpose.

The young Nabob, as he was lying asleep in his tent at midnight, was struck dead, in the midst of a violent storm, by a flash of lightning. This accident happened on the 2nd of July; but though singular in itself, yet no very extraordinary circumstance attended it. The fire pierced through the top of the tent, struck upon his left breast, and he perished in the flame, with one of two attendants who sat by him. Major Caillaud had the most timely information of this event, and was fortunate enough from his early intelligence, to prevent the immediate succession of bad consequences, which was apprehended from the irregular and ungovernable nature of the Nabob's troops. He instantly summoned all the chief commanders of the Nabob's army to his camp, assembled them, and by employing the influence of those more immediately attached to the English interest, all dangerous exigencies were at length provided against; the inferior officers were gained over by promises to remain quiet, the minds of the people were calmed and their fears

appeased ; but he was now obliged to abandon the thoughts of any further military operations on this side : he was full sufficiently employed, and it was as much as he could accomplish to keep the Nabob's army together, who, agreeably to their custom, after the death of their leader, threatened immediate dissolution. However, it was at last agreed, that the power over the army should be vested in Major Caillaud, till the sentiments of the old Nabob was known ; and the brother of Ramnarrain was nominally joined with him in the command. Had the army once disbanded, the whole province of Bahar must inevitably have been lost to the Shah Zadah.

To preserve them in the same temper he had brought them to, and to prevent any future accidents, from the levity and inconstancy of an unsteady multitude, Major Caillaud hurried back the army to Patna, halting a few days only at the town of Bettlah, to oblige the Rajah of that place to pay some arrears of revenue due to the Nabob, and which the troubles had prevented collecting before. Another reason for this haste arose from the severity of the weather, by this time become so bad by constant rains, and the waters rising to a great height over all the country, that, in a few days more, whatever had been his success, he would have been compelled to return ; for, since crossing the Ganges, the heavy rains had rendered the soldiers' tents entirely useless, and the miserable huts of the villages were their only shelter. Major Caillaud, therefore, conducted both armies back to Patna, and terminated the campaign, on the 29th of July, by distributing them into quarters.

(To be continued.)



The Murder of Richard Aimes. An Old-time Indigo Feud.



WHEN, now nearly thirty years ago, I first read Chevers' well known work on Indian Medical Jurisprudence,¹ a mine of curious information on all the subjects with which it deals, of all the remarkable stories of crime in that book, the one which excited my interest most was that of the murder of Richard Aimes, an indigo planter in Nadiya district, in the year 1830, by another indigo planter whose name Chevers gives as Gong. The name of the assailant, is one of the singular points in the story. This name, however, is a clerical error; the real name of the accused man was George Yonge, an ordinary enough name; probably it got contracted into Gong by a mistake in printing or in copying.

Shortly before leaving India, in April 1910, I paid a visit to my brother, Mr. M. M. Crawford, Manager of Shikarpur factory, once the property of Messrs. J. and R. Watson, and now belonging to the Central Bengal and Midnapur *Zamindari*² company. I told to some friends there the story of the murder of Richard Aimes, as far as I could remember it, as an instance of an indigo feud of eighty years ago. My brother remarked that it was in the immediate neighbourhood of Shikarpur that the murder had been committed and suggested that we might get traditional versions of the story from some of the older inhabitants of the locality.

Living near Shikarpur was an old man named Gadadhar Bagchi, aged 76, who had recently retired from the service of the Shikarpur Concern, in which he had been employed for nearly sixty years. His father had served the factory before him for many years, and had been there at the time of the murder. Gadadhar was born in September 1831. He assured us

¹ Dr. Chevers' work was first published in the *Indian Annals of Medical Sciences*, for October 1851, pp. 243-426, as "A report on Medical Jurisprudence in the Bengal Presidency." The second edition, but the first in book form, published in 1856, bears the title "A Manual of Medical Jurisprudence in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces," by Norman Chevers, M.D. Published by order of Government, Calcutta, F. Carberry, Bengal Military Orphan Press, 1856-80, pp. x, 608. The third edition, published in 1870, is entitled, "A Manual of Medical Jurisprudence for India, including the outlines of a history of Crime against the Person in India." Calcutta, Thacker, Spink and Co., publishers to the University; Bombay, Thacker, Vining and Co., London, W. Thacker and Co., 1870. It is only in the third edition that the story of the murder of Richard Aimes appears.

² *Zamindari*: landholding from *Zamra* land.

emphatically, and with some anxiety, that he had not taken any personal part in the murder; which, indeed, was committed a year and a half before he was born. But he had known men who had taken at least a minor part in the affair, as members of the gang who attacked and plundered Aimes' factory; and had often, in his younger days, heard the story from his father, and from other old men who knew the facts.

Subsequently my brother sent me another account of the affair, which he had got from an old man of 65, Nobin Chandra Sarkar, of Amli, Sadarpur, a relation of Panchananda Biswas, *mukharir*¹ of Katlamart outwork who was one of those actually implicated in the murder. This story, like that of Gadadhar Bagchi, is, of course, told from the point of view of the Shikarpur Concern. It appears to me the most interesting of all the accounts of the murder; and also, on internal evidence, it appears to be the one which probably comes nearest to the truth.

A few days later, when in Calcutta, I was informed by my friend, Mr. E. W. Madge, of the Imperial Library, that an account of the trial of George Yonge for the murder of Richard Aimes was contained in the *Asiatic Journal* for February 1831; also that another account of the crime was given in a work called *Remarkable Criminal Trials in Bengal*, published in 1876 by an author writing under the pseudonym of "Lex."

I propose to give below these various versions of the story, as follows, with some comments:—

- I.—The account as given by Chevers.
- II.—The reports of Yonge's trial, as given in the *Asiatic Journal*.
- III.—An abstract of the account by "Lex."
- IV.—Gadadhar Bagchi's story.
- V.—Nobin Chandra Sarkar's story.
- VI.—Comments.
- VII.—A note on the History of Shikarpur Indigo Concern.

1. THE ACCOUNT AS GIVEN BY CHEVERS.

In a case which was tried in 1830, all that was discovered of a murdered man was (a)* portion of scalp, with a *tuft of Hair*[†] which formed a very important evidence of identity. My *Commentator*[‡] relates it as follows: Richard Aimes, commonly known as Dick mahib, and one Gong, were head assistants in rival indigo factories in the Nuddah district. They had frequent altercations. One evening, as Dick was sitting in his verandah with his family, he was seized by a band of armed men, said to have been headed by Gong, and carried off forcibly towards the factory of the latter. The unfortunate man was never seen again except by witnesses who deposed to seeing him die under Gong's hands. Information of the outrage

* *Mukharir*, writer, clerk.

† The particle *a* omitted in original.

‡ The Italics throughout are as used by Chevers.

§ My *Commentator*. Who this Commentator was does not appear.

was given on the following morning to Dick's employer, by his native mistress. Owing to that gentleman's apathy, apparently four days were allowed to elapse before any active enquiries were instituted, and, consequently, Dick's body was not discovered; but, in Gong's cowhouse, some human hair was found, which, when shown to her, the prosecutrix identified as the hair of Dick's head. The deposition of the Nazir who conducted the search is as follows and it does not appear from the printed record to have been disputed.

Mohammad-Suleem, Nazir* of the Nuddon Fowdary† Court, stated that he was directed by the Magistrate to investigate the affair of Dick's disappearance. About three musuns‡ north-east of Gong's tent, observed a spot which appeared recently disturbed, dug, that and discovered the carcase of a dead horse. Afterwards went into the cowhouse of the Kallacaree (Gong's) factory, and probed about with a spear, observed the ground in one place uneven, and covered with cowdung: dug there; after they had dug a cubit and a half, a pitted smell issued from the hole, which increased as they continued to dig. At length about two cubits below the surface, they found some human hair of a reddish colour, with a piece of the skin of the head attached to it. Hastoolah and Dhan Mullick, who were present, and well acquainted with Dick, recognised it as his hair. Found nothing else. The earth was very soft to the depth of 3½ cubits, 2 cubits in width, and 4½ cubits in length§. Put the hair which had been dug up in a pot, and showed it to prosecutrix. She said that it was Dick's hair, and that Dhan Mullick and Ramdhan Nyce could identify it; afterwards saw the hair in the Supreme Court. It was then comparatively dry; when dug up, it was moist.

My Commentator goes on to say that there can be little doubt that the hair thus found with the skin attached to it was Dick's hair; for red hair is not a common deposit in Bengal ground. No one, reading the man's evidence (which there appears no reason for disbelieving) can doubt that Dick was buried in Gong's cowhouse, and that the body was hurriedly removed upon information of the nazir's approach. *Perhaps, if the carcase of the dead horse had been closely examined, the murdered man might have been discovered within.* Be this as it may, Dick was proved by witnesses to have died under the cruel treatment of Gong and his accomplices. This discovery in the cowhouse established the credit of the witnesses. In spite of direct and circumstantial evidence Gong was acquitted by the Supreme Court, where, as a European British subject, he was tried. The evidence which did not satisfy the Supreme Court did, however, satisfy the Sadar.¶ The three principals, Peer Allee, Nemye Nandun, and Sartuk Bhowse were imprisoned for life. Their accomplices were sentenced to terms of 14 and 7 years' imprisonment. He adds: "A consideration of the facilities of escape offered to crime by too rigidly insisting on identification will, therefore, cause some relaxation of this rule. This is no fault of the legislature or of the bench, but an unfortunate consequence of the circumstances peculiar to this country. If a mass of bones can pass in an English court of law, we see no reason why a tuft of red hair should not be accepted in Bengal. The irrevocable sentence of death need not be pronounced, but when direct evidence and a mass of concurrent circumstances render us virtually certain of a man's guilt, it is mere weakness to let

* *Nazir*: an official of the Magistrate's Court: literally, "over-looker," inspector."

† *Faujdar* (Criminal Court): literally, "connected with the administration of the army."

‡ *Musun*: probably *ratti* ropes as a measure of length, a *ratti* or rope equals about 2½ yards.

§ *Cubit*: A cubit equals about 1¾ feet.

¶ The Supreme Court was composed of English Barrister Judges, the Sadar (Sadr) Court of Civilian Judges. Since the Crown took over India from the Company, the two have been amalgamated in the High Court.

him go wholly unpunished, because the proof is incomplete. What earthly investigation can be complete? Some men can be made to doubt their own senses, and we know that, in this country, a bullying counsel [can]¹¹ force a native witness to admit anything. We must try, therefore, to administer justice with the means at our disposal, and not attempt to attain an unattainable perfection."

II. THE REPORT OF YONGE'S TRIAL AS GIVEN IN THE "ASIATIC JOURNAL."

The following account of the trial of George Yonge, in the Supreme Court of Calcutta, for the murder of Richard Aimes, on 13th and 14th August 1830, is extracted from *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China and Australasia*, Vol. IV, New Series, January-April, 1830. It occurs in *Part II. Asiatic Intelligence, Calcutta pp. 63-69.*

August 13 and 14. George Yonge was indicted for the murder of Richard Aimes, alias¹² Dick, on the 8th April last, at the Avoory indigo factory, near Kishnaghur.

The *Advocate-General*¹³ stated the case. In the district of Nuddea are various indigo factories; one called Avoory was the property of a Mr. Rheemur Thomson, who also possessed several other plantations. Aimes or Dick was the assistant or overseer to the factory of Avoory. In the neighbourhood there was another indigo factory, the property of a Mr. Watson, called Katlamaree,¹⁴ and the prisoner, George Yonge, was the manager of it. It appeared that very violent feuds prevailed between the people of both factories, as was too often the case throughout this district. On the evening of the 8th of April last Dick was sitting in the verandah of his bungalow, smoking his hooka¹⁵ and surrounded by his family, when the prisoner, with three other individuals, on horseback, armed with swords, and accompanied by a great body of armed men, entered the premises. Dick's family consisted of himself, two females, with whom it appeared he cohabited, several children, and two servants. On coming to the door, the prisoner ordered his men to go into the house and seize Dick, which they did, and dragged him out, tying a cloth round his mouth, and in this manner conveyed him to the prisoner's factory, a distance of five miles, the prisoner's people all the while beating him with bamboos. At the time these people seized Dick one of the females entreated for mercy, when the prisoner seized a spear headed with iron, and threw it at the unfortunate woman, which struck her in the forehead, and prostrated her on the ground. The prisoner and his people having conveyed Dick to the factory at Katlamaree, threw him on the ground, and the prisoner ordered three or four of his people to beat him with shoes and whips, which they accordingly did; and while in this state, the prisoner jumped upon Dick's body and trampled on him, and then called for irons to mark him with. Some of the people upon this observed, "The man is dead, there is no use in marking him." The prisoner said, "Well, bring him to the tent." The body was accordingly taken into the tent, and that was the last of it which the witness saw. Six or seven days afterwards, whilst searching the premises of the prisoner, a quantity of human hair was dug up in a cowhouse; that hair would be identified as being that of Dick. The clay had a most offensive smell:

¹¹ Word can omitted in original.

¹² *Indies*, throughout, as in the original.

¹³ Mr. John Pearson was Advocate-General at the time.

¹⁴ *Katlamaree*, now known as Jagannathpur.

¹⁵ *Hooka, kuppā*, the Indian pipe for sucking through water, also called "*hukilo hukilo*."

but he would not ask what was become of the body, but, was the man dead when last seen at the tent of the prisoner?

Mr. Ebenezer Thomson deposed that the prisoner was born in Scotland. Richard Aimes was in witness's employ, as well as James Thomson and Francis Roberts. Witness was proprietor of the factories of Krishnaghur, Boleen, Avoory, and Boladanga, in August. Mr. Roberts had charge of them; Aimes was employed under him. Kolynauth Roy has indigo factories about four miles from witness's. There have been serious disputes between Kolynauth Roy's people and witness's; they were continually quarrelling. There has been no *serious* quarrel since 1825; there had been some broken heads since. Aimes was a hardworking, faithful servant, but a little cracked. Witness directed Roberts, in 1826, to send him to Krishnaghur factory, and Roberts wrote to Dick to come with burkendosses:¹¹ he had been once attacked. The prisoner was once in witness's employ; he had been discharged in July last; witness had been obliged to discharge him three or four times. Dick had dark hair with a reddish tinge; he was about thirty-five. He used to play all manner of antics with the natives; that is the reason witness called him cracked.

Kallah Anund, a Bengallee woman who had cohabited with the deceased, deposed that he had returned from the Mollepara factory, where he had been to fight Yongo, over whom, though assisted by Kholly Baboo's people, he prevailed. There had been a dispute about indigo-lands. He remained at home till four *dundatts*¹² of the night, three days before the end of Choitra (8th April). He was sitting in the verandah when Mr. Yonge and his writer, Elia, and 150 persons came, but no other Europeans. Mr. Yonge had a cress in his hand; and the others had spears. They came from behind the house to the front, and some surrounded it to prevent their escaping. Mr. Yonge said "Take hold of the launchoot,"¹³ whatever it may cost I will pay." Some of them entered the house, and took hold of Aimes, and some plundered the house. Mr. Yonge kept on his horse; he asked for the black woman (witness). Mr. Yonge called for a spear, and struck Goarah Anund (another of the deceased's women) in the forehead. She fell wounded. These persons took Mr. Dick away, and plundered the house. They took him towards the (Katlamaree) Bhottairiah factory. Mr. Dick made no resistance, for a number fell on him at once. They took away property and some money belonging to witness.

Mr. Dick was fond of good eating and drinking; "he was the son of an Englishman, so should drink." He was not drunk on that day, nor in the habit of getting drunk. Mr. Dick, a long time since, did complain against Mr. James Thomson for taking away his cows; and Mr. Thomson complained against Mr. Dick for leaving his service. Mr. Thomson's gomastah, Radimohun Sircar, took away Mr. Dick in November last: he did not complain upon that occasion. The police poons came to the house, but Dick sent them away, saying he would compromise.

Saalee Mahomed produced some hair which he found on digging up the floor of a cow-house in the Katlamaree factory. Kallah Anund identified the hair as Dick's. She saw it first five days after he had been taken away. Bits of skin were then attached to it, and it had an offensive smell; it was bloody when dug up.

¹¹ *burkendoss*; properly *baryandaz*; a matchlockman, literally, "Lightning-thrower."

¹² *dundatts*; *dunda*, a Bengali word, meaning the one-sixtieth part of a twenty-four hour day, or twenty-two minutes. Four *dundatts* of the night would be about one and a half hours after sunset.

¹³ *Launchoot*; low term of abuse.

¹⁴ *Gomastah*; native agent or overseer.

The *Chief Justice*,¹¹ inquired whether Ella (Yonge's writer) and the other natives implicated in this transaction were present.

Advocate-General.—"No, my lord, they are natives, and are to be tried for this offence by the Zillah court."

Chief Justice.—"Yes, but they are in the service of a European, and should be here as prisoners or as witnesses."

Gorah Anund,¹² the other mistress of the deceased, deposed that Yonge used to come to her master's to dinner frequently. She confirmed the account given by the other woman of the manner in which the deceased was carried off three days before the end of Choitra, and stated, that the next day they both went to the factory of Mr. J. Thomson. She also identified the hair, and corroborated Kallah Anund's statement of the house being plundered. Upon her screaming, Yonge called for a soorky,¹³ and struck the witness, who fell senseless. Dick made no resistance; he had no guns or spears in the house.

Richard Dick, son of the deceased, a boy about ten years of age, was sworn. He could not speak English. He stated, that after his father had eaten, he desired witness to fill a chillum,¹⁴ and when he returned the house was filled with people, who seized his father. The house was plundered, and Yonge wounded Gorah Anund, who fell. Witness went to the bazar and gave "dohoy!"¹⁵

Noboi Shaik, employed on the Avocry factory, saw the deceased taken away by Yonge, Ella, and about two or two persons. Yonge was on horseback. Dick was taken in the direction of the Kathamatarree (Mr. Watson's factory), where Yonge lived. Witness and another followed, and saw them throw down and beat the deceased; and heard him say, "Do not beat me, I will drink water." He was held by fourteen or fifteen persons. Yonge threw a soorky, or small spear at Gorah Anund, who, when they took hold of Dick, called "dohoy!" Dick's (Mr. Thomson's) and Yonge's (Mr. Watson's) factories are near each other; these proprietors used to quarrel about indigo land.

Secar Shaik, servant of the deceased, confirmed the statement of the last witness.

Seetoo Shaik deposed that Dick was in the factory on the morning of 27th Choitra, and was taken away in the evening; witness could not find him.

Gopal Chaud, in Mr. James Thomson's service, saw Mr. Yonge with a body of men take away the deceased, about the Churruck poojah,¹⁶ which began three or four days after. Mr. James Thomson had sent the witness to Mr. Dick's with a horse, as he had no conveyance. Witness left the horse in the stable and ran out, when they took Dick away.

¹¹ The Chief Justice in 1830 was Sir Charles Edward Grey, born 1785, appointed Judge of Supreme Court, Madras, 1820; Knighted 1825, Chief Justice, Supreme Court, Bengal, 1825-1832; Governor of Barbadoes, 1831-1836, and of Jamaica, 1837-1853; Grand Cross of the Hanoverian Guelphic order, died 1st June 1865.

¹² *Gorah Anund*, *gora*, fair complexioned, *gura Anund* is fair Anund (cf. *gora lag*, fair folk British Soldiers); *Kala Anund* is black, or dark Anund. The word *Anund* means pleasure; it is a common name of women in Bengal.

¹³ *Soorky*, *urki* a reed, hence spear; translated as spear a few lines lower down.

¹⁴ *Chillum*, *chilum*, the part of a *dagga*, or Indian pipe, which contains the tobacco and charcoal.

¹⁵ *Dohoy*, *dohoi*, an exclamation shouted aloud by a petitioner for redress in a court of justice, hence, a cry for help.

¹⁶ *Churruck poojah*, *Charruk paja*, or hook swinging festival; held on the day of the sun's entry into Aries the *Chaitra Sankranti*; the last day of the Hindu month of Chaitra, which is the last day of the Bengali year, and falls in April.

Décarry, a barber, holding some land in prisoner's factory, saw, on the 27th Chaitra, about 120 persons proceed to Dick's house with Mr. Yonge. The party entered, and witness heard the rattling of chests; and Mr. Dick called out "I am dead."

Kawaz Shaik saw Mr. Dick taken away by the prisoner, Elia, and 200 others, and also saw Gorah Annud lying on the floor bleeding.

Joyagmanth Roy, burkundoss to the thannahdar,^a remembers Dick being carried off by the gentleman of the Katlamarree factory and about 150 natives, who took him in the direction of Katlamarree. Heard the people invoking their different deities, some saying, "the breath has left the body of Dick."

Several other witnesses deposed to the same effect.

Jaffa chowkeedjar,^b went to Dick's house after he was taken away, and found the things broken and scattered about.

Khooly Shaik was employed in his plantation of sugarcane, when a party of about 100, with two Europeans and two Bengalees, on horseback, came from the direction of Mr. Dick's house to Mr. Yonge's factory; they were taking some person with them, who was lying flat, some having hold of his arms, some of his legs, and some of his clothes.

Raheen Shaik, servant of the prisoner, recollects his bringing Mr. Dick to the Katlamarree factory, where witness was. He was accompanied by a great many of his people. When they brought Dick near the tent, they threw him down, and began to beat him. Yonge got upon his breast with his boots on, and trampled on him for a time; he then said, "Bring the marking-iron and I shall mark him." Khooly Burkundoss, Mr. Elia, and another, put their hands to the nostrils of Mr. Dick, and one of them said "Where is the use of marking him, he is dead." Upon saying that, Mr. Yonge said, "Well, carry him into the tent." After he had given that order, he told the Consummah^c to pack up his traps, and he would proceed to the factory of Ramanggur. The witness was alarmed, and ran away. All the persons that came with Yonge went away after they had beaten Dick; he had very little clothes on his body; witness saw no blood.

Rutim, a native female, employed at Yonge's factory to pound Soorkey,^d deposed that on the night in question Yonge left the factory with Elia, and a body of men armed with clubs, swords, and spears. They returned with Mr. Dick, bringing him on a tatty.^e Yonge gave orders to beat him, and they began to beat him. Yonge then got upon his breast and trampled on him, and when he got off, he said to the people "mark Mr. Dick." Then Khooly, Elia, and another, put their hands to his nostrils and said "he is dead." Mr. Yonge said "bring him into the tent," and he was dragged and brought into the tent. When Mr. Yonge gave order to beat Dick, he was on foot moving about. When he went from the factory he had a sword in his hand; when he returned and got off his horse he gave the sword to Khooly. The upper part of Dick's body was naked. After me was thrown down he moved, but did not speak.

Doorgee, another soorkey-pounder, on the prisoner's factory, confirmed the last witness's statement. When Dick was brought in, Yonge said, "lay on with the shoes and the whip," Yonge jumped upon his breast with his boots on, and trampled on him; he then called for the marking-iron, when Elia, and others, putting their hands to his nostrils, said, "Why

^a *thannadhar, thannadar*, police officer in charge of a *thann*, or police station.

^b *Chowkeedjar, chawkeidar*, village watchman, rural police.

^c *consummah, shansumad*, butler or table servant.

^d *soorkey, moorchi*, literally red stuff, powdered brick, used along with lime to make mortar.

^e *tatty, talli*, a screen or mat.

will you mark him, he is dead?" Ellis and Khoody beat Dick with a shoe and a whip.

Ramun Mullick proved the search for Dick's body about a week after the occurrence. Whitem, in consequence of information, attended the nuzzer²⁰ to Kallamarrne factory, and dug in several places. Observing a soft spot in a cowhouse, they dug there, and at the depth of a cubit and a half, an offensive smell was perceived, and some hair was dug up, of which the nuzzer took possession; bits of flesh were attached to it. The ground was soft to the depth of about three cubits, two cubits in breadth, and four cubits in length. The nuzzer asked Mr. Yonge why the place smelt so strongly; he replied, he did not know. There were a good many people with the nuzzer. Mr. Yonge went about searching for the body with the nuzzer and darogah,²¹ he made no attempt to escape.

Mahomed Sauleem, nuzzer of the Zillah²² confirmed the statement of the last witness. On the occasion of the search, Rutton, Doorges, and Raheem declared that they had seen Dick beaten on the spot, and Yonge, who was present, said nothing. When the soft earth was taken out of the place where they dug, the bottom and sides were hard. Yonge intimated that he should go to Krishnaghur²³, and when witness desired some explanation as to the hair, he referred him to his gomastah. The hair was put into a pot and bound up.

Mr. Shaw, ²⁴ Magistrate of Zillah Nuddes, deposed to his knowledge of Mr. Dick, and to the disputes the latter had with different persons. He stated that there were frequent disputes among the indigo planters of the station, attended with much violence. The prisoner surrendered voluntarily. Some individuals connected with giving evidence in this cause had not arrived. Some were not summoned. The darogah is not here, witness could not tell why. About twelve individuals, some of them ryots²⁵, were at Nuddes in confinement for this charge.

Here the prosecution closed.

The prisoner offered a written defence, which was read by the Clerk of the Crown.

He denied, in the most solemn manner, the crime imputed to him, declaring that the whole story evinced a deliberate unprovoked design to deprive him of life. There was neither sudden quarrel, nor secret provocation, nor the impulse of passion to account for such a diabolical murder, nor could any benefit result to him therefrom. Not only the atrocity of the offence, but the open manner in which it was alleged to have been perpetrated, and the numbers present, rendered it improbable. He then adverted to the habitual perjury of the natives of India, as evinced in very recent examples in that court; and urged that, situated as India and its courts of justice were, positive swearing, on behalf of the prosecution, should not prevail with the jury unless it was supported by probabilities. As to the motives of the witnesses, every victim did not know his enemy; and as he had been advised that he had not sufficient legal

²⁰ *Nuzzer, udair*, (the account is on the 2), inspector, v. note *supra*.

²¹ *Darogah, darogah*, Superintendent, (the term is usually applied to a native sub-inspector of police or head constable).

²² *Zillah, zila*, (literally rib, side), an administrative district, the jurisdiction of a Magistrate and Collector. The *zila* in this case was Nuddes, or Nadiya.

²³ *Krishnaghur*, Krishnagurh the headquarters of the Nadiya District then and now. The town is about fifty miles from the scene of the murder.

²⁴ *James Shaw*, Magistrate of Nadiya, entered Bengal Civil Service 1818, died on board the *Starcher*, on his way home, 1st September 1842.

²⁵ *ryot, raiyat* = tenant of the soil, a cultivator.

proof to bring home the charge of conspiracy against those with whom he believed the prosecution originated, he should not make a charge he might fail to establish. He asked the jury if they could venture to pronounce that Dick was not still living, and that the whole of the mysterious circumstances were not to be traced to his mad and insane conduct. He then detailed the facts which he called witnesses to prove, and concluded with citing from Lord Hale's *Pleas of the Crown* the well-known cases there mentioned of persons convicted of murdering individuals who afterwards appeared to be alive.

His counsel^a then called Imaum Box, a burkundass, who deposed that he was at Avory and also at Katlamurree factories on the 25th, 26th, and 27th Chaiton, and saw nothing of the affair.

Shahk Mahomed, a Kunitgar^b in the prisoner's service, swore that the prisoner remained in the tent all the day in question (27th Chaiton), having taken physic, and did not go out all night. Mr. Dick was not there, nor was there any large number of people at the factory that evening. There was no woman named Ruten in the service. There were rezas (soorkey-pounders) in the factory; he could not tell their names. (This witness was cross-examined at some length, and contradicted the witnesses for the prosecution on some unimportant points).

Cherier, chowkeydar, was at Mr. Yonge's factory on the 27th; it was the Churruck Pooja. Mr. Yonge was there the whole day and all night, he was ill. No body of people came there. The soorkey-pounders were away in consequence of the pooja. (This witness contradicted the last on an unessential point).

Joseph Gomes saw the prisoner for the first time on the 8th April. Witness, with his son, had left Dick's house, and being benighted, stopped at Yonge's factory, and saw Yonge in his tent asleep. Elia, the writer, awoke him to ask him to allow witness to sleep there. Witness slept in the dusterconnah^c. He saw the prisoner in the morning. He left Dick's at half past eight or nine; when he arrived at Yonge's it was ten o'clock; there was no crowd of persons there; Mr. Dick was not there. The two houses was (or) distant about one coss.^d *Dick and his family had retired to rest before witness left.* On the 7th Dick had collected a large body of lutey wallahs^e and spearmen in his factory; he directed witness to desire them to hide the arms in a godown^f and disperse themselves about the plantain-trees and brushwood. (On the 8th, Dick went to those people, and returned about eight in the evening. Witness was alarmed, and left the factory without telling Dick of his intention.

Edward Gomes, son of the last witness, used to live with his father at Dick's house in the Avory hazaar. They left it at eight in the evening of the 8th April, and got to Mr. Yonge's between nine and ten. A Chowkeydar brought them to Elia, who took them to another gentleman who was asleep in his tent. They remained in the dusterconnah all night; they saw only three persons there. *When witness and his father left Dick's, the latter was sitting smoking; the two women were sitting near him.* There were about eighty armed men in the factory, and Dick desired they should conceal their arms, as he feared an attack. Witness left Dick's house because he used to illtreat witness, and use him like a slave. He and his father left him smoking. On the 17th they heard that Dick had been carried away

^a Counsel for the Defence; his name is not given in any of the accounts.

^b Kunitgar, Kaidmigar, table servant, literally, one who does service.

^c Dusterconnah, dusterkhana, office room.

^d One coss, i.e., about two miles.

^e Lutey wallahs, lathimohaz, men armed with lathis or clubs of bamboo.

^f Godown, Gudan, storeroom, literally cellar.

in the night they left, and therefore went back to Avoory for their clothes. There was a great confusion. The Nuzer and Darogha were there. The shopkeepers in the bazar knew they had lived at Dick's, and were inquiring about him; but they did not mention their story to the Nuzer or Darogha, because they were not asked by him. The bazar people alarmed them by saying they would be imprisoned.

Izabde Matla deposed that from three or four o'clock P.M. of the day in question, and all the night, Mr. Yonge was in his tent at Katlamarre; there was no concourse of people there.

[Here a jurymen was taken seriously ill, and the trial was of necessity suspended; it was not resumed till three days after.]

17th, August. The trial recommenced this day.

Izabde Matla was cross-examined. His last answer (to the judge) is curious: "I am a villager; all my thoughts and exertions are concentrated in one *begah*^a of ground therefore I cannot answer all the questions you have put to me."

Shaik Tajoo and Kohdah Mullik, who were cultivators of indigo-land, like the last witness, confirmed his testimony as to Yonge's being in the tent all the afternoon and night in question. They varied in some minor points. They all ascertained the exact date by the circumstance of their having come to the factory to get advances from Mr. Yonge. Each had referred to his *Haut-chittah*^b or memorandum of advances, which they customarily suspend round their necks; but neither of the three witnesses had brought his *haut-chittah* with him. One said that he had given it to his nephew, another that he did not know that it would be required, and the last declared, that although he lived only a coss and a half from Avoory, and knew that Dick had been carried away, till he came to Calcutta he never heard what the prisoner was accused of!

Tajoo, *Jemadar*^c of Colgunge thana, which has jurisdiction of some of Mr. Thompson's^d factories, spoke to disputes between him and Kolynauth Roy, and also between Yonge and Thompson, about indigo-lands. He had been stationed at Colgunge in consequence of disputes between the gentlemen. The affair in question was notorious over the whole country. Witness heard of it on the 23rd Chaitra (10th April).

Some documents were here read; one was a minute of the zillah magistrate's court, on a complaint of Mr. Thompson against Mr. Dick, for leaving his service and collecting large bodies of armed men, namely, that Dick was a seditious and riotous person, and was bound in a recognizance of 300 rupees to keep the peace. Another, on a similar complaint, directed Dick's arrest.

This closed the defence.

The *Chief Justice* charged the jury at great length. He began by adverting to the conflicting nature of the evidence; one set of witnesses or the other being perjured. He then remarked that no one of the witnesses for the prosecution had distinctly fixed the day on which Aimes was carried off, and where the prosecutors had it in their power to produce

^a *Begah, bigha*, a measure of land, varying in extent, in different parts, from one acre to about one-third of an acre.

^b *Haut-chittah, hatachittah* literally hand letter, a signed letter. It here denotes the certificate given by the planter to the cultivator, showing the amount of the advance which the latter has had, and the quantity of indigo-plant which he has undertaken to produce.

^c *Jemadar, jamadar*, leader of a body of a men; usually a native officer of the second rank, or lieutenant, or a company of sepoy; here, a head constable.

^d *Thompson*, the name above spelt Thomson without the p.

such a host of witnesses, that question should not have been left open to doubt. The jury were bound to inquire whether it was the 8th April or not to which these witnesses deposed. The learned judge detailed and commented upon the evidence of the persons in the family who saw the attack at Aimes' house, those who saw the condition of the house afterwards, and those who were eye witnesses of Aimes being brought to the prisoner's factory : pointing out discrepancies. He observed, that the last class of witnesses, who were servants of the prisoner, proved the case, unless they had committed a foul and deliberate perjury, and entered into a base and horrible confederacy to deprive an innocent man of life. With regard to the transaction itself, there was no supposition that it was untrue, but to make the evidence false it must be met by one of two cases; first, if this affair did take place at all, it may have been in consequence of the wild and turbulent character of the man, and disputes with other persons which brought upon him the vengeance of the people, and that if he were taken away by any one, it might have been by Kolynauth Roy or others, with whom he had disputed; the other was, that this was a most abominable conspiracy against the life of the prisoner at the bar, and that case had been hinted at. The defence would seem to suggest that this was a drama got up and acted by certain parties and that Dick, who perhaps is at this moment alive, has been removed for the purpose of the dark and dreadful design of bringing this charge. These were the only suppositions with which the case could be met, but these are cases which in England would be considered improbable or impossible. He (the learned judge) would not undertake to say that here they were absolutely impossible, where Europeans were so imperfectly acquainted with the state of the country; but he was bound to say it was improbable, for it took place in a village, in the presence of hundreds, where an investigation took place so soon after. On the other hand, there was a great improbability that any man should be guilty of so foul a crime; but at the same time his lordship was sorry to say, that it was not improbable that there were frequent quarrels between indigo-planters and indigo-planters' assistants, attended with much violence, but nevertheless, the jury had still to get over the improbability of the perpetration of so horrible and barbarous a murder. On the facts most material, as to the absolute carrying away, he was bound to say there was no contradiction amongst the witnesses for the prosecution, but a wonderful coincidence; but the differences upon other points were entitled to the consideration of the jury. The judge then adverted to the absence of witnesses who were necessary to the prosecution, and for which no valid excuse was assignable. There was one person in particular whose absence he regretted, and that was James Thomson*, who ought to have been here, for he was the principal person in the management of these factories, he could have shewn that search had been made for Aimes, and this would have materially assisted in putting beyond doubt whether the man was really dead, and also in deciding whether this violence took place on a Thursday night or not. It would also be material to show what the women told him on their arrival at his factory; what was their demeanour at the time, the nature of the wound, and, if there was anything like a conspiracy, materially to satisfy the jury as to what Gomes had said about the armed men, and the likelihood of that being the case, and also relative to the woman who was said to have lived with Vonge, and other matters. Thomson had not been subpoenaed, he was said to have been coming down, but he had not since arrived. When on a former occasion this trial was adjourned, the judges intimated that it would be well to have him, and one or two of the managers of these factories.

* James Thomson son of Ebenezer Thomson and manager under the latter of some of his indigo factories.

but none had come, and the case was therefore left less satisfactory. Lastly he remarked, that the prisoner had made no attempt to abscond, or to resist, which was usually considered a mark of innocence. To meet the case for the prosecution, witnesses had been called to show, first, that Dick had not been violently carried away, although a whole village swore to the fact; secondly, that the witnesses who swore to the identity of Yonge, were mistaken in his person; and thirdly, that the whole was a dreadful plot, a horrible drama, got up and acted for the purpose of taking away the prisoner's life. But if the case for the prosecution was improbable, as to the fact that any man could commit so horrible an offence; it was equally irreconcilable, that Dick was not forcibly carried away; that the witnesses who had sworn that Yonge was present at the time, who had the best means of being acquainted with his person, and who had given their evidence unhesitatingly and consistently, were deceived; and still less likely was it, that so dreadful a drama could have been got up and succeeded. The evidence of the Gomes's was important, for it directly contradicted the witnesses for the prosecution on the important point on which the whole case turned. They might have been mistaken in the night they left Dick's, or they might have spoken falsely. There existed some differences between them and Dick; they quitted the factory secretly through fear of the armed men, and they were kindly received by Yonge, whom they met, and frequently communicated with, though there was no obligation for his attention to them. These circumstances were suspicious. The learned judge pointed out the looseness and inconsistency of the evidence of the Gomes's. He then adverted to the testimony of the ryots, who spoke to the date from their *hant-chittah*, which they had omitted to bring, nor was the person who had read the date to these illiterate men, previous to their coming present to prove this important fact, upon which the case depended, but this must not be lost sight of: these men were the ryots of the factory in charge of which the prisoner was employed which at least involved the supposition that they may have been engaged in this very affair, if there is any truth in it, and it ought also to be taken into consideration, whether they have or have not a decided interest in the issues of this trial. Further, in the evidence of the third witness, it appeared very extraordinary, though he lived within half a coss*, and was constantly sending plant to the factory, that he should never have heard of Yonge's being taken into custody, nor of any change in the managers of the factory, and it was extraordinary that he never since should have gone with his plant to that factory, but have trusted it to two children and the *gomastah* who was now in custody. With respect to the evidence of the *consumah* and *chowkeydar*, they might be implicated, but what threw the greatest doubt upon their evidence was, that one was in the habit of going to *Katlamarree* village, yet never heard of Dick's being carried away till eleven days after the transaction, and the other witness stated it was notorious all over the country in a day or so after it occurred. But the most material point was that on the day the *muzer* came, the *consumah* was out of the way, but the *chowkeydar* did not give evidence before him, nor had either since gone before the magistrate or had been taken before him by Mr. Yonge. The learned judge admitted the difficulty as to the non-discovery of the body, but the jury might convict the prisoner notwithstanding, for there were cases in which the death of the party might be inferred. If they were satisfied that Aimes had been taken away by an armed force to *Katlamarree*, how were they to account for his never having been since seen out of that factory? But if it had been acknowledged that he had been taken away, and that he had absconded from thence for fear of future violence, or been put away for the purpose of bringing this prosecution,

* According to the evidence above, *my* half a *mil*, one *mil*, but one and a half *for*, three miles. This discrepancy, however, is immaterial to the argument.

the jury would have a more difficult task than now, where the prisoner had adopted a particular line of defence. But if they were satisfied that he had been taken away by Yonge it was impossible to suppose that he was alive after the defence which the prisoner had set up. The prisoner had not attempted by direct evidence to show that he was alive. The judge thought that the hair had not been proved to be that of Aïmes, though the finding of human hair in the cowhouse was a strong circumstance. He concluded by observing that both tales were irreconcilable, and the jury had the dreadful task of deciding on which side the horrible perjury lay. They had a public duty to perform, and should not let private feeling interfere. The barbarity of the crime would leave no hope of mercy if the prisoner was convicted; but if the jury had a feeling that might disturb their consciences hereafter, they should acquit him.

The jury retired, and after an absence of *fifteen hours* returned into court at twenty minutes after seven on the following morning, and delivered a verdict of *not guilty*.

Immediately after the account of the trial, the *Asiatic Journal* continues with an extract from the *John Bull*, a Calcutta paper of the time. The date of this extract is not given. It runs as follows :

The *John Bull* says: "We do not remember any trial that has attracted so deep a degree of public attention as that which had now been disposed of. The solemn verdict of a jury of his countrymen has acquitted the accused of the heinous and aggravated crime with which he stood charged, and again restored him to liberty and to society. How far it may be deemed proper by Government, in the exercise of its discretion, to permit Yonge to return to the Mohaul* we cannot of course pretend to say; but regarding the circumstances that have come to light on the trial, we can have no hesitation in saying that the public peace and tranquillity of the district of Kishnaghur will be best promoted if he is not again placed in a situation to disturb them.

"We understand, that *after* the verdict was recorded, the jury handed up a paper to the bench. The Chief Justice on looking at it, stated, that it could in no way affect the verdict, and therefore had better not be read publicly. He would give it, however, to the Advocate General, who, he was convinced, would communicate it to Government; and his Lordship added, that to prevent any misconception about its purport, he would say, that it only stated that the jury were of opinion, that all the evidence was not produced for the prosecution which was procurable."

The only other references to the murder of Richard Aïmes which I have been able to find in the *Asiatic Journal* are the three following extracts from the *John Bull*. Those of 11th and 18th May 1830 mention the murder, but without any names. The reference in the first two is evidently to this case, though the statement that the crime was committed in the district of Jessore is mistaken.

The first two extracts are quoted in the *Asiatic Journal* of November 1830, Volume III, New Series, September to December 1830, Part II, page 139, under the head of *Asiatic Intelligence, Calcutta*. The third may be found in the same *Journal* for April 1831, page 179.

* The East India Company, at this time, had still the power to deport from the country undesirable Europeans. According to Nohin Chandra Sarkar's account Yonge was deported.

MURDER AT AN INDIGO PLANTATION.

"Letters received from Jessore district contain details regarding a most barbarous murder committed by one indigo-planter assistant on the assistant of a neighbouring planter's (sic) through the instrumentality of a hired band of ruffians ripe for any villainy. One letter which we have seen enters very fully into the particulars of this outrage and cold blooded deed of horror. We forbear saying more on the matter, as it has become the subject of judicial investigation, although we are sorry to understand, it is apprehended that considerable difficulties will be found in the way of bringing the offenders, whether principal or accessories, to justice, for want of evidence. The occurrence is said to have taken place about the 20th of April, under circumstances of the most atrocious cruelty and unheard of barbarity. The letters that have reached us are most circumstantial in their details, and describe a deed of sanguinary savageness almost unparalleled in the annals of human depravity." *Cal. John Bull*, 11th May.

"The individual accused is, we hear, about to be brought down to the presidency to stand his trial. *Ibid*, 18th May.

OUTRAGES IN THE INDIGO DISTRICTS.

"We understand that twelve of the people concerned in the abduction of Dick or Aimes in the Krishnaghur district, for which Yonge was tried at last session of the Supreme Court, have been convicted in the Mofussil Court, and sentenced to the roads. *John Bull*, 1st Oct.

III. ABSTRACT OF THE ACCOUNT OF THE MURDER.

BY "LEX."

An account of the murder of Richard Aimes is given in a book called "Remarkable Criminal Trials in Bengal, by "Lex."¹ The author who writes under this title is supposed to have been Robert Reid, a well-known Calcutta detective. As the title-page shows he had access to the original records of the cases he describes. The second article in the book, *An Indigo Planter of Olden Days*, deals with the murder. It covers fourteen pages which may be summarized as follows:—

After describing the lawlessness formerly prevalent in some of the indigo districts, and relating how different concerns were frequently in a state, practically, of private war against each other, like that of the Norman Barons after the Conquest, the author goes on to tell how Richard Aimes, or Dick Sahib, was Assistant in charge of Apoorer² factory owned by Mr. T—, "where he lived with two native mistresses, Gora Anand and Kala Anand. Yonge³ was Assistant in charge of Kallamari factory, owned by Mr. W—, "about two miles off, where he lived, with a native mistress, in a tent, the factory bungalow being under repair.

¹ Remarkable Criminal Trials in Bengal, being narratives of facts taken, with permission, from the Crown Records of the late Supreme and Sadler Courts, by Lex. Calcutta, Printed at the City Press, 12, Darnley Street, and to be had of all booksellers. 1876. Price Rs 2.

² Apoorer, factory; misprint for Avoores or Avul.

³ The initials T and W stand, of course, for Thomson and Watson.

⁴ Lex spells the name Yong without the final e.

⁵ 18th April 1831 (this should be 1830. The writer notes below that the trial of the natives implicated took place at Krishnagarh on 18th September 1830.

Under him, he had as assistant or writer a French Eurasian called Pierre Aller. There were incessant quarrels between the two factories. On the evening of 8th April 1831.¹⁰ Yong assembled a band of from 100 to 125 retainers, armed with spears, swords, and clubs, at Katlamari, and led them to Dick's factory; Yong, Aller, and two native assistants, riding at the head of the force. On arrival there, they attacked the factory, some of the men seizing Aimes, under Yong's orders, and, after a scuffle carrying him off, wounded and a prisoner, to Katlamari. Gora Anand threw her arms round him, whereon Yong threw a spear at her, wounding her on the forehead. Yong, Aller, and the two chief native assistants, returned to Katlamari with the men carrying Aimes; the rest of Yong's men plundered the factory. It was a bright moonlight night, so the parties were seen, on their way to Katlamari, by two cowherds and a cultivator; also one of Dick's men followed them to Katlamari. On the way the men carrying Dick, threw him down beside a tank, and beat him with their *lathis*, also kicking and stamping upon him. They then placed him on a *plump*, or framework of bamboo matting, and carried him upon it the rest of the way, flinging him down at the door of Yong's tent. Under Yong's orders Pierre Aller beat him with a whip, one of the native assistants beat him with a shoe, and Yong jumped on his body. Yong then ordered the factory iron to be heated, and brought to brand Dick, when one of his men said, "There is no use in branding him, he is dead." Yong then ordered his servants to leave. The writer implies that Dick died when flung on the ground, on arrival at Katlamari. The next morning the two Ananda, Dick's mistresses, started for Keshabnagar factory, the residence of Mr. J. T. —. They found that he was at Bamandi factory, six miles further off, but met his father, Mr. R. T. —. The latter sent for James T. —, who rode over to the factory¹¹ and ordered his *gomastah* to write an account of the affair, which Gora Anand took to Hardi police station. Four days later, the Magistrate's *Nazir* arrived to investigate the affair.¹² The *nazir* went to Katlamari. There he found a recent grave, and, digging it up, discovered a horse buried on the spot. In the factory cow-house he found signs of recent disturbance of the ground. On digging at this place, a great stench was emitted and they found a portion of scalp with some reddish hair attached, which Gora Anand identified as Dick's hair.

The writer suggests that Dick's body may have been concealed inside that of the horse. He may, however, have taken this suggestion from Chevers, the third edition of whose work, containing the story, was published several years before that of "Lex."

Yong, as a European British subject, was tried for the murder in the Supreme Court of Calcutta and acquitted by a jury, against strong evidence. Pierre Aller and the native assistants were tried on the 18th September 1830 by the Sessions Judge of Nadiya¹³ at Krishnagarh and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment.

On appeal, the *Sad* Court of Calcutta enhanced these sentences, Pierre Aller and the two chief native assistants being sentenced to imprisonment for life in Alipur Jail; the others to imprisonment for fourteen and for seven years respectively, in the jail at Krishnagarh.

¹⁰ The factory, is Keshabnagar or Arooora factory meant? The wording leaves this point doubtful.

¹¹ "Lex" animadverted on this delay, writing: "yet so defective was our police and judicial system in those times, that four days were permitted to elapse before the Magistrate took any measures to investigate so serious a crime." Probably the police officer from Hardi first visited the spot himself. He would then have to send the news by a messenger to the Magistrate at Krishnagarh, about fifty miles off. The Magistrate, moreover, may have been absent when the messenger arrived. All this would take time.

¹² Judge of Nadiya, was Henry Moore, entered the Bengal Civil Service in 1810, retired in 1846, died in 1881.

"Lex" quotes part of the judgment recorded by Mr. Rattray,¹⁰ one of the Judges of the *Sadu* Court, as follows: It is particularly worthy of note that Mr. Rattray states that these sentences were imposed with full knowledge of Yong's acquittal.

"I have gone through the proceedings with the most careful attention to the evidence they exhibit; and I regret to have arrived at the conclusion that the case is one of *murder*; and this, with a knowledge of the acquittal, before the Calcutta Supreme Court, of the leading agent in the transaction, Yong. With his trial and its result, I have nothing to do, beyond the caution which it necessarily dictates in forming a judgment, that may differ from that then pronounced penally affecting those of whom Yong was the presumed instigator and principal; and it is with this before me that I state my opinion to be that those of the prisoners proved to be guilty in the present trial, are so as having been accomplices in murder. The Sessions Judge qualifies his belief of Dick Aimes having died under the cruel treatment he received, by adding—"There is no reason whatever to believe it was the intention of the party to murder him"—"but the whole transaction was not merely illegal, but distinguished by grossest violence and brutality, to a degree which, if not evidencing an intention to murder, showed, at least, an utter indifference to consequences which must have presented themselves as probable under the conduct they were pursuing. The evidence establishes to my satisfied conviction, that when Dick was thrown down at the door of Yong's tent, horse-whipped and beaten by some of the prisoners, and his breast stamped upon, while prostrate, by Yong, he was lifeless. The test was applied by the party themselves, and Yong was restrained from executing the intention which had been entertained, of branding him with the factory iron, because he was dead. The barber who had been in the habit of attending Dick every third day, swears that the scalp and hair dug up from the floor of the cowhouse were his (Dick's), and the stench which issued from the hole filled with loose earth, where these were found, leaves no doubt that the body had been there concealed, but removed in anticipation of the search which followed."

IV. STORY OF THE MURDER OF RICHARD AIMES AS RELATED IN APRIL, 1910.

BY GADADHAR BAGCHI AGED 78.

Gadadhar Bagchi was born in September 1831. For nearly sixty years he had served as *diwan*¹¹ in the Shikarpur *samindari* and Indigo Concern and had recently retired from that post. His father, Kristo Lal Bagchi, had for a long time held the same post before him, under Messrs. J. and R. Watson, and held it at the time of the murder. Gadadhar, who was born the year after the murder was committed, of course had no personal knowledge of the facts. But he said that he had often heard the story from his father and from

¹⁰ Mr. Rattray, entered the Bengal Civil Service in 1798, was appointed one of the Justices of the *Sadu* Court about 1827, retired in 1850, died in Calcutta, 1860, buried in Lower Circular Road Cemetery. Author of *The Exile and other poems*, designed La Martiniere building, Calcutta. (*v. Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. 4., 312, p. 54).

¹¹ The fact that Yonge called for the factory iron to brand Dick does go some distance to show that Yonge had not intended to kill him. For, as the natives pointed out, it was useless to brand a dead man. Still, this absence of intention, even if allowed, would, as Mr. Rattray points out, make no difference in the responsibility of the culprits for the murder.

¹² *Diwan*: literally, minister of state, hence agent or manager or adviser.

other older men, who were well acquainted with the facts, and some of whom had taken a minor share in them. His story runs as follows :

"At the time of the murder a Mr. Thomson was proprietor of the Pirtola Indigo concern, the chief factory of which, Pirtola, lies some three miles south-east of Shikarpur. The factory had three or four outworks. Mr. Thomson lived chiefly in Calcutta, his manager, Dick Sahib, lived at Pirtola.

"Shikarpur was then the property of Messrs. John and Robert Watson. They lived chiefly in Calcutta. The manager or assistant, who lived at Shikarpur, in the Assistant's quarters, over the vats, was known as 'the Doctor.' Both he and Dick Sahib were Eurasians, not Europeans.

"The two concerns were on unfriendly terms, almost at open war. On one occasion, when paying a visit of inspection to Shikarpur, Mr. John Watson said to "the Doctor," in a fit of passion that he would give a thousand rupees for Dick's head.

"Dick kept a Bengali Mistress, who lived in a house close to Pirtola factory. This woman expressed a wish to see the *Charat Puja*. "The Doctor" dressed up a number of *lathials* as *Sanyasis*² and sent them round the neighbouring villages, performing the *Puja*. They came to Pirtola in the evening, and performed before the house of Dick's Mistress. Dick came to look on. One of the *lathials* went up to Pirtola factory, and locked up the room in which Dick kept his guns and other weapons. The *lathials* then seized Dick put him on an elephant, and carried him off, either to Shikarpur itself, or to Ramnagar, one of the Shikarpur outworks, and there deliberately murdered him, under 'the Doctor's' orders. A horse was killed, Dick's body was placed inside the horse, and buried.

"A servant informed the police, who came to the place, found a grave, and dug it up, but seeing that the grave contained the body of a horse, as the Shikarpur people told them it did, did not exhume the body. The Shikarpur people took alarm at this enquiry, dug up the horse, removed Dick's corpse, and disposed of it elsewhere, probably by throwing it in the river. The police subsequently got a hint to examine the horse, came again, and dug up the horse's body again. They did not find Dick's body, which had been removed, but found some hairs entangled in its carcase, which were identified as Dick's hair.

"Neither of the Watsons were present at Shikarpur at the time, 'the Doctor' was in charge of the factory.

"The Doctor' and a number of *lathials* were arrested, and tried by the judge at Krishnaguri. 'The Doctor' was acquitted, several of the *lathials* were convicted of rioting, and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, Dick's body not having been found, the charge of murder was not sustained. The defence was that Mr. Thomson had removed Dick, and hidden him, in order to bring a false charge against the Shikarpur Concern.

"Mr. Watson, against his own judgment, had an appeal lodged, in behalf of his servants, who had been convicted. On appeal, they were sentenced to imprisonment until Dick's body was found. The Messrs. Watson soon afterwards got rid of 'the Doctor.'

"According to another version of the story, slightly different, which was current in his youth," Gadadhar said, "the plot to seize Dick at the *Charat Puja* was planned by his native mistress, who herself fastened up the gun room."

Gadadhar further said, in answer to questions, that he knew the Watson's assistant as 'the Doctor' only, not by any other name; but, on hearing the name of Vong, said that he thought that was his name.

² *Sanyasi* ; a religious mendicant, one who has abjured worldly affections ; a Brahman of the fourth religious order.

V. THE STORY OF THE MURDER OF RICHARD AIMES AS RELATED IN 1910

BY NOBIN CHANDRA SARKAR, AGED 85, OF AMLA SADARPUR, A RELATIVE OF PANCHANANDA BISWAS, MUHARIR OF KATLAMARI FACTORY, WHO WAS ONE OF THOSE ARRESTED IN THE CASE.

"At the time of the murder Mr. Yonge was manager for Messrs. J. and R. Watson, of Malipara factory, which included Katlamari, an outwork too small to have a separate bungalow of its own. The owners and manager of the Malipara factory were desirous of increasing the cultivation of that outwork, and the simplest way to do so seemed to be to try to dispossess Richard Aimes, commonly known as Dick Sahib, who was manager for Mr. Thomson, the proprietor of Mugura, a neighbouring factory, some of the land of which adjoined Katlamari. Yonge and Aimes had previously been on good terms. With the object of picking a quarrel, Yonge attempted to sow down by force some of these lands. Dick and his men were quickly on the spot; and, knowing that he would have no chance in a personal encounter with Dick, who was a noted swordsman, and excelled in *lathi*^a play, Yonge had to retire. Returning to his factory, he called his *amlas*^b told them what had occurred, and said that Dick must be put out of the way. The *amlas* refused to have anything to do with the matter, saying that the dispute was one between Europeans, and that it would be best to come to an amicable arrangement. Yonge replied that Dick was not a European but an Eurasian, and that he did not understand their arguments.

"At this time Dick had a Bengali mistress called Anand, to whom Mr. Yonge promised heavy bribes, if she, with the *khansamah* and Dick's other servants, would abstract Dick's gun, sword, and other weapons, from his room, on a certain date.

"On the night fixed, while Dick was dining, his mistress removed and hid his weapons, as arranged. Later on, about 2 A.M., Yonge himself came with some two hundred *lathis*^c to attack Dick, and after a scuffle, seized him, put him on a horse (some said on an elephant), and carried him off to Katlamari. On arrival there, Dick was found to be dead, from wounds received in the scuffle. At this time Yonge had a horse which was suffering from *kemri*.^d This horse was shot, and disembowelled, Dick's body was concealed in the carcass, which was buried in an outhouse occupied by a factory *bunia*^e coolie.

After a few days, when Yonge heard that the *Nesir* was coming from Krishnagar to investigate the case, he had Dick's body removed from the horse and thrown into the river *Pudma*^f which flowed near the factory. The horse's carcass was not deeply buried and the smell thereof aroused the suspicions of the *Nesir*, who dug it up, discovered the horse's body, and, looking inside it, found only some red hair, similar to that of Dick. The *Nesir* then arrested Nimai Nandi (*dimas*); Panchananda Biswas (*muharir*); Sarthak

^a *Lathi*, a club, usually a bamboo. *Lathi* play is something like quarterstaff.

^b *Amlas*, plural of *ami*, agent; the term in common use for the collective body of clerks of an office, Government or private.

^c *Lathis*, clubs; called *lathimulas* in the evidence.

^d *Kemri*, from *kemur*, to be; "gone in the limbs," a kind of paralysis, very fatal to horses in the damp climate of Lower Bengal.

^e *Bunia*, grain, sowing.

^f *Pudma*. This must be a local name for the Haoria or Matahanga river.

Biswas (*amla*)⁴⁰ and several of the Katlamari *lathials*; all of whom were in due course tried by the Judge at Krishnagarh. Nimai Nandi, Sarthak Biswas and several of the *lathials*, were sentenced to imprisonment for fourteen years. Panchananda Biswas got off, owing to his being a cripple. The sons of the *amla* appealed to the *Sadr Court*, but without success. Yonge was tried by the Supreme Court and acquitted; but was ordered to leave the country at once and his property was confiscated.

"Some said that Yonge's sister had a liaison with Dick, whence the reason for Yonge's determination to take Dick's life and also for Dick's betrayal by his native mistress."

"Mr. Ebenezer Thomson was in embarrassed circumstances at the time and could not afford to fight the case properly on behalf of his factory."

VI. COMMENTS.

These five accounts of the murder all agree in the main points: though there are, as is only to be expected, numerous discrepancies between them. All agree (if we except Yonge's defence in the Supreme Court), that Aimes' factory was deliberately attacked by Yonge, that Aimes was taken prisoner and was carried off to one of the Shikarpur outworks. Four of them state that he was there put to death, deliberately and brutally, by Yonge, the fifth, that of N. C. Sarkar, says that on his arrival there he was found to have died of wounds received in the fight when he was captured.

All five accounts state that Dick's body was never found and all five mention the finding at Yonge's factory of red hair, similar to that of Dick. The story of the burial of the horse appears in four accounts, it is not mentioned in the trial in the Supreme Court.

Gadadhar Bagchi stated that both Yonge and Aimes were Eurasians. As far as Yonge is concerned, this is obviously incorrect. At Yonge's trial, Mr. E. Thompson stated that he was born in Scotland. And the fact that he was tried by the Supreme Court shews that he, at least, was a European. Aimes was probably a Eurasian, in her evidence in the Supreme Court his mistress, Kala Ananda, says that he was the son of a European. His name appears to have been Aimes, the spelling Amies, given by Chevers, is probably due to a mistake made in copying or printing.

The account by "Lex" is the only one which definitely states that Yonge was aided by a Eurasian Assistant, Pierre Aller. As "Lex" had evidently consulted the records of the case tried at Krishnagarh, this may be taken as correct. The name Pierre Aller is evidently the same as that given by Chevers as Pir Ali, and in the evidence in the Supreme Court as Ella. Several of the witnesses in the Supreme Court mention Ella by name. Khudi Sheikh says that there were *two* Europeans with the men who attacked Aimes' factory. And Jayagonath Rai speaks of the *gentlemen* (plural) of Katlamari factory heading that party.

⁴⁰ *Amia*, a confidential agent.

The story of the fight between Yonge and Aimes, over indigo lands a few days before the murder, given in her evidence by Kala Ananda, is corroborated by N. C. Sarkar's account.

The accounts by Gadadhar Bagchi and N. C. Sarkar are especially interesting as being told from the Shikarpur or Katlamari point of view. Both admit the murder, though the latter softens it down somewhat by saying that Dick was found to have died of his wounds on the way to Katlamari factory. Both tell the story of the burial of Dick's body inside that of the horse and of the finding of Dick's hair. Gadadhar's story of Mr. Watson's exclamation, made in a moment of anger, and probably without intention, that he would give a thousand rupees for Dick's head, is interesting, whether true or not, as supplying some, though hardly an adequate, motive for the crime. The story of Yonge's *lathials* being introduced into Aimes' factory disguised as *sanyasis* performing the *Charak Puja* is a picturesque touch, though it is not, whether correct or incorrect, material to the main facts of the murder. The names of the native assistants implicated are given by N. C. Sarkar as well as by Chevers. The names of the two chief abettors correspond. N. C. Sarkar does not, however, mention the Eurasian Pierre Aller, called by Chevers Pir Ali.

The two Eurasians or Native Christians called Gomez appear in the evidence in the Supreme Court only, where their testimony shows considerable discrepancies. A curious point in Gadadhar's story is his calling Yonge throughout "the Doctor." Yonge as Assistant may have done some amateur doctoring for the Shikarpur concern. The sentence of imprisonment until Dick's body was found, which Gadadhar says was passed on appeal by the *Sadr* court, is, of course, absurd.

The account given by Nobin Chandra Sarkar is of some importance, even though told eighty years after the event. At the time of the occurrence, the narrator was a child of five, old enough to understand to some extent the excitement which must have been aroused in the neighbourhood, at the time, by the fight, the capture and looting of Aimes' factory, the disappearance of Aimes, the search for the murderers and for the murdered man's body, and by the trials. He was, moreover, related to one of the men actually implicated in the murder.

There are three points in these accounts which appear specially worthy of note.

First, that Yonge was acquitted by a jury of his countrymen, in the Supreme Court, on what must have been practically the same evidence as that on which his native abettors were convicted in the Sessions Court at Krishnagarh. The Judge of the *Sadr* Court, who upheld their conviction on appeal, and enhanced their sentences, makes special reference to this fact.

The summing up of the Chief Justice was decidedly against Yonge, and the length of time, fifteen hours, during which the jury deliberated, shows the difficulty they had in coming to a conclusion. The merits of the case might perhaps have been better met, were such a verdict admissible in India, by the Scots law verdict of "not proven," which practically means, that the jury believe that the prisoner is guilty, but do not consider the evidence sufficiently conclusive to justify a capital sentence.

Second, that the case for the Crown was very badly presented in the Supreme Court. The Chief Justice comments on this circumstance in his summing up; the jury remark upon it in the note which they handed to the Chief Justice after delivering their verdict. James Thomson, one of the first to hear of the murder, did not appear to give evidence. The *Darogha*, the Police Officer who, under the Nazir, first investigated the case, was not present to give evidence; the Magistrate of Nadiya, who was at least nominally responsible for the presentation of the case for the prosecution, could not tell why, and in his evidence states that some witnesses had not even been summoned. The Chief Justice also remarks that some of Yonge's native abettors in the crime, who were under trial at Krishnagarh, should have been produced in the Supreme Court, but were not present. Dick's barber also, mentioned in Mr. Rattray's judgment, might with advantage have been present to give evidence in the Supreme Court. Mr. Roberts, who was, according to Mr. E. Thomson's evidence, Dick's immediate superior, does not appear in the case at all.

Third, and the most important point of all, is the deliberation and brutality of the murder committed, with the utter absence of motive. In the first four of the five accounts, it is stated that Aimes, after being carried a prisoner to Yonge's factory, was there deliberately beaten and stamped to death, partly under Yonge's orders and in his presence, partly by Yonge himself. None of the four accounts give, or even suggest, any adequate motive for this savage murder. For even Gadadhar's story of Mr. Watson's angry and reckless offer of a thousand rupees for Dick's head, suggests no motive for the brutality of the murder. Dick might easily have been killed and the reward earned in the fight at the factory. Whereas Yonge evidently intended that Dick should be taken alive, and either deliberately put to death or at least beaten within an inch of his life. Yonge in his defence denies that any fight had taken place, and that any murder had been committed, and suggests that Aimes was purposely in hiding, in order to get him (Yonge) convicted and hanged for his murder. This, if true, would have been as deliberate and almost as cruel a proceeding as the murder itself. And for such a course also there is the same absence of motive. As the Chief Justice points out in his summing up, the absence of motive cuts both ways

If no motive appeared why Yonge should deliberately murder Aimes, equally no motive is shewn why Aimes should deliberately try to get Yonge convicted and hanged for his murder by keeping out of the way. None of the four accounts give any real motive for personal enmity, either of Yonge against Aimes or of Aimes against Yonge. Aimes' mistress, Gora Anand, states in her evidence that the two used frequently to dine together. The fifth story that of N. C. Sarkar, also states that they were previously on good terms. In the lawless state of the indigo districts eighty years ago, when two rival concerns might be frequently fighting each other and might be considered almost in a state of private war, there would be nothing very surprising in the fact that two European Assistants, even though they were personally on good terms, might take part in the fight, on opposite sides, or even that one might kill the other, more or less in fair fight.⁷⁰ But this is a very different thing from deliberate murder.

Now it seems that the fifth account, that of N. C. Sarkar, supplies the missing clue to the whole affair, the motive, in the addition that Aimes had a *laison* with Yonge's sister. Whether Yonge had a sister or not, it would probably be impossible to ascertain now, eighty years after the event. But he certainly had a native mistress, according to the account by "Lex." That Aimes was a man of strong passions appears evident from the fact that he had two native mistresses actually living with him. And if Aimes had an intrigue with any womankind of Yonge's, whether wife, mistress, sister or daughter, we at once get the motive, hitherto not apparent, for the whole affair. *Cherche la femme*, says the French proverb. The Persians have a somewhat similar proverb, that all troubles arise from one of three causes; "*zan, zar, zamin*;" woman, gold, land. The third of these sources of quarrel, the land, was undoubtedly directly concerned in the affair; the second, gold, indirectly; and N. C. Sarkar's story adds the most powerful motive of the three.

Both the two native stories given above, mention a tradition to the effect that Aimes was betrayed by his native mistress. This appears to be quite unfounded. In both of what may be called the two official versions, that of the trial in the Supreme Court and that by "Lex," it appears conclusively that it was due to the action of Dick's two mistresses that the case was first reported and investigated. And one of them, Gora Anand, was severely wounded in the scuffle in which Aimes was seized.

The map showing Shikarpur, Katlamari, Avari and other factories was supplied by my brother. Of the eleven factories shown, five belonged to the Watsons, three to E. Thomson, two to a proprietor named Kenny, whose

⁷⁰ I do not remember ever to have heard of such a case.

name does not appear in the case, and in one case the proprietor's name is not given. Most of these factories were probably small outworks with no resident European in charge. Shikarpur is the only one of much importance; but Bamundi appears to have been James Thomson's headquarters. The distances shewn in the map are measured from Katlamari not from Shikarpur. Gadadhar's memory was evidently much at fault when he placed the scene of the attack on Aimes at Pirtola, which was one of the Watsons' own factories.

The river shown in the map is the Haulia or Matabhanga river, the latter being its official name, the former the name generally used in the locality. It is a river of considerable size in the rains, but fordable in many places in the hot weather. It is one of the three "Nadiya rivers," whose junction forms the river Hughli; the other two being the Jalangi and the Bhagirathi. It must have changed its course, more or less, in the eighty years which have elapsed since the murder. Then as now, however, it appears to have run close by Katlamari factory, and so would have been quite handy for the disposal of a dead body.

VII. A NOTE ON THE HISTORY OF SHIKARPUR FACTORY.

Shikarpur factory is situated in the north-east of the Nadiya District, some six or eight miles south of the Ganges. It is about twenty miles west of the Eastern Bengal State Railway, the nearest station being Bhairamara and some forty miles east of Barhampur. The roads in this part of the Nadiya district are unmetalled, and even now are practicable only with difficulty for any wheeled conveyances other than a bullock cart. Eighty years ago, probably, there were hardly any roads at all. At the time of Aimes' murder, in April, however, the country would be dry and communication on foot or on horseback easy.

The name Shikarpur, the township of sport or of hunting, is obviously derived from the excellence of the locality as a hunting-ground. The *chars*, or lowlying land along the Ganges, in the early part of the nineteenth century, were full of wild buffalo, wild pig, deer and even tigers. Buffalos used to be shot, with carbine or horsepistol, from horseback. Neither tiger nor wild buffalo have been seen in the neighbourhood for the past thirty years, and deer, if they still exist, are now scarce. But the place still maintains its reputation for wild boar and is probably the best pigsticking ground in India at the present day. I believe it holds the record for the best pigsticking meet ever held, when, early in 1906, seventeen spears killed 149 boars in two days on the *chars* near Moheshkundi. This is the name of one of the outworks, "the buffalo-grounds," though the buffalo have long since disappeared.

Shikarpur concern was founded, about the end of the eighteenth century, by a Mr. J. H. Danby, who built a house, vats, etc., between 1790 and 1795.



SHIKARPORE HOUSE.



AVENUE LEADING UP TO THE PORCH OF
SHIKARPORE HOUSE.



CHRIST CHURCH, SHANTIRAJPORE.



SHIKARPORE HOUSE.



INTERIOR OF CHRIST CHURCH,
SHANTIRAJPORE.

In 1821-22 Mr. Danby sold the concern to three brothers named Bait, who, about 1829, sold it to Messrs. John and Robert Watson.¹¹ In 1853 the Watsons formed Shikarpur and their other silk and indigo concerns into a company, trading under the well-known name of Robert Watson and Co., themselves retaining the largest interest in the Company. Their agents in Calcutta were Messrs. Jardine, Skinner and Co. This great firm was founded on 1st January 1844. In 1888 Messrs. Robert Watson and Co. became a Limited Liability Company. In 1899-1900 they sold their silk factories to the Bengal Silk Company. In 1902 the Company of Robert Watson and Co. was finally closed, their northern properties, including Shikarpur, being sold to the Central Bengal *Zamindari* Company, and their southern properties, in Midnapur and the neighbouring districts, to the Midnapur *Zamindari* Company; two companies formed to take over the Watson *Zamindaris*. The two were subsequently amalgamated in 1906.

Up to 1829 the proprietors of Shikarpur were their own managers. The Watsons apparently never managed the concern themselves, nor permanently resided there, but only paid frequent visits of inspection from Calcutta, where they lived. Since they acquired the concern, the following gentlemen have held the post of Manager in succession: Messrs. Danby (son of the founder), James Dalrymple, Larymore, Cockburn, George Macleod, A. Landale, H. Abbott, D. Macdonald, C. B. Gregson and M. M. Crawford, the latter being still in charge.

Shikarpur was, after the closing of Malnath, the finest indigo concern in Lower Bengal, though in point of colour its indigo could not rival that of Kantakobra, which for many years obtained the highest average price in India. At the present day two of the outworks of Shikarpur, Nesheshkundi and Sonakundi, still manufacture a little indigo, this being the last lingering relic of the great indigo industry of Lower Bengal. The dwellinghouse of Shikarpur is a large two-storied building, the Matabhanga river flowing nearly a mile to the east and about a quarter of a mile to the south. When it was built I cannot say, over half a century ago; probably it has been added to from time to time; but it is certainly not as old as the eighteenth century. About two hundred yards west of the house stood the indigo vats, which were pulled down in 1909-10, and at their west end is a small old two-storied building, still known as the Assistant's quarters (mentioned in Gadadhar's account of the murder,) but not used as a residence for many years past. This may have been the original building

¹¹ My brother gave 1831 as the date of the Watsons' purchase of Shikarpur. But, both from the report of Yonge's trial in the Supreme Court and from the account by "Lex" it is obvious that the Watsons owned the Concern at the time of Aimes' murder, in April 1830.

erected at the close of the eighteenth century. To the south of the vats are situated the business offices of the concern, also all the stables, barns, granaries, byres, etc. Among these buildings is a charitable dispensary, and a little to the west is an English school, both chiefly maintained by the concern. About half a mile west is a small masonry church, belonging to a station of the Church Missionary Society.

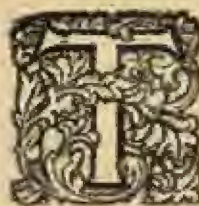
South of the house a finely wooded park stretches almost to the river. There are three old European graves in the south-west corner, near the outbuildings, and one towards the south-east. Behind, north of the house lies the garden, and beyond that a *bha* or watercourse, stagnant in the hot weather, but flowing to the river in the rains.

In front of the house are four cannons. There is a tradition that they were used at Plassey. I searched them carefully for marks, but could find only one which presented any legible device. This one had on the breech the figures "1 : 428." On the upper part of the breech was a capital H, and behind it the monogram OVC, that of the Dutch East India Company OVC, *Ost indische Vereenigde Compagnie*, the O crossing the left, and the I the right arm of the V. Behind this again was another device, nearly obliterated, which I could not make out. There had been also some figures or letters, now quite illegible, on the right of the guncarriage.



Review.

GRAND'S NARRATIVE.*



THE volume before us is the latest (and may perhaps be the last!) reprint issued by the Calcutta Historical Society. Whether the original work was ever published or merely printed for private circulation is not known. In either case it has become so rare that only three copies (the Prospectus says two) are known to exist at the present time. For, besides the India Office copy which has been transcribed for this reprint, there are two in the British Museum Library, as appears from the Catalogue of that institution printed in 1888.

Only through Dr. Busteed's fascinating pages was Grand's *Narrative* known to students of Anglo-Indian history. Said to have been the first book printed at the Cape (and that was ninety-seven years ago), it is eminently readable, if not altogether reliable, for besides being written in an easy style, it contains many interesting anecdotes of contemporary celebrities. It is certain to appeal to all those interested in the Anglo-India of the eighteenth century. Its author was the husband of that world-famous beauty who captivated the reputed "Junius" and afterwards married Prince Talleyrand. Coming out here in 1766 as a cadet in the East India Company's army, Grand became in course of time a Civil Servant. He did not finally leave India until 1799, after having passed thirty years in this country.

The interest of the work is far from being restricted to those portions relating to the author's famous wife. Yet it can scarcely be doubted, as the editor has himself anticipated in his Introduction, that many who purchase the book will do so on account of the interest felt "in that lady who . . . over every generation of Calcutta antiquaries exercises an extraordinary charm"—the beauteous lady—

With those assassin eyes
That made half the world their prize,

and who (to continue quoting from Mr. J. J. Cotton's haunting stanzas)—

Was reserved to reign
Queen of Ganges, Queen of Seine!

* *The Narrative of the Life of a Gentleman long resident in India*. By G. F. Grand, Cape of Good Hope, 1814. A new edition, edited for the Calcutta Historical Society, with introduction, notes and additional letters, by Walter R. Firminger, Calcutta, 1911. 8vo. (Price, Rs. 3 and Rs. 4— for members and non-members respectively).

With regard to that fateful night in the winter of 1778, although it is scarcely open to doubt that Philip Francis did enter Grand's house with criminal intent, Sir Robert Chambers (according to *Hicky's Gazette*) held that there was no proof either that Madame Grand had consented to his coming there or that they were actually together for an illicit purpose. In this conclusion, at once so charitable and chivalrous, the editor concurs, nor indeed should any right-thinking individual find it difficult to share his opinion, notwithstanding the false step this young married lady of sixteen summers may afterwards have been induced to take. But to return to the book itself: Neither did Grand remain inconsolable, judging by what he has to say for himself—"Happy in my second choice of a partner . . . my happiness centred alone in domestic concerns. May you be blessed in the like manner, should it ever be your lot to deplore, as I did, the cruel separation which forced me from the first!" Warren Hastings comes in for no meagre praise from the author whose work appears to have been mainly intended as an attack on Lord Cornwallis's administration with special reference to the Permanent Settlement and the Mysore War. Whatever estimate the reader may form of Grand's character, he is nevertheless interesting as having been a pioneer of the indigo industry. This he had promoted in Behar to his own advantage and he had been warned to give up his indigo-concerns before being finally removed from the service.

The latest contribution to the literature connected with Madame Grand was perhaps to be found in "Talleyrand the Man," D'Albert's translation of *La Vie Privée de Talleyrand* by B. de Lacombe. In the English translation the eight chapters comprising Part II deal with "The Marriage of Talleyrand."

Mr. Firminger's annotations, which are not in the form of footnotes but are grouped together at the end of the book, will be found as interesting as they are informing. Being in fact all that could be desired, it might perhaps be claimed for them that by nobody else could this part of the work have been done better. In order to suit the reader's convenience, the text has been broken up into thirteen chapters. To the original Appendices several others have now been added, while the Index provides a new and—need it be remarked?—most useful feature.

The reprint contains no fewer than fifteen plates, the last of them "The traditional birthplace of Madame Grand, Tranquebar," being omitted from the "List of Illustrations." But there are scarcely any other slips calling for notice. In the Introduction, Madame Le Brun is described as "Mlle." which probably stands for "Mdlle." (or "Mlle.") but which would in any case be incorrect. On page 303, in the epitaph of Mrs. Robert Ledlie (Susan Grand) the line, which gives the date of her death (July 26, 1800) has dropped out. In a note on page 276, the reader is referred to another page

of which the number has unfortunately been left blank. This should be page X (of the Introduction), while the reference itself should be to the "Marquis of Rockingham" (*not* "Nottingham"). But these, after all, are trifles. A list of *errata*, for which we are indebted to the kindness of Lieut. V. Hodson, will be found on another page.

Uniform with Mrs. Fay's *Original Letters from India*, except that instead of the bright crimson cloth binding, we have here an artistic paper wrapper illustrated with Mme. Vigée Le Brun's charming portrait of La Princesse de Talleyrand.

By Mr. Firminger's friends and admirers (and their name is legion) in both Bengals, it is earnestly hoped that he will, after his long leave, return to us rejuvenated and resume his labours of love in these "fields of fair renown." But meanwhile, as if to show how fully appreciated these labours have been (even though any such proof be quite unnecessary) may it not also be hoped that every member of our Society, who has not already done so, will forthwith possess himself of the book which is so imperfectly noticed in these pages?

ELLIOT WALTER MADGE.



General Note-Book.



On the Supplementary List of interesting monuments in the Lower Circular Road Cemetery, which appeared in the last number of *Bengal: Past and Present*, may now be added the following names supplied by Messrs. Madge and O'Connell:—

Captain John Turner, of the 51st B. N. I. (died 1853) was the father-in-law of the late Sir C. C. Stevens, who in 1897 officiated as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (*Position of grave*: 6th walk; North Block, Plot 36; 1st row, West; 4th grave from North).

Mr. Francis Corbet Le Breton of the Bengal Pilot Service, died 13th June 1872, aged 30. He had been married at St. Andrew's Kirk, on 31st July 1867, to a Miss Victoria Cochrane. What is most interesting about him is the fact of his having been a son of the Very Rev. William Corbet Le Breton, Dean of Jersey, and hence an elder brother of the present Lady De Bathe, better known as Mrs. Lillie Langtry. (The position of his grave, a nameless one, is as follows:—7th Walk; North Block, Plot 14; 6th row east; 12th grave from north).

The Tyler family-vault is situated as follows:—4th Walk; North Block Plot 19; 2nd row, East; 10th grave from South. Charles Wordsworth Tyler, who was Inspector of the Customs Preventive Service, died on November 20, 1881 (the date is not given on the tablet). He was the father of Sir J. W. Tyler, Kt., C.I.E., M.D., who retired as Inspector-General of Prisons, N.-W. P. and O., and is still living.

Mr. D. J. Zemin was the proprietor of the firms of Messrs. Lewis Stewart and Co. and Arlington and Co. in this city. Besides being an Honorary Magistrate, a Municipal Commissioner, a Member of the Port Trust and a Visitor of the Presidency Jail, he became Master of the Calcutta Trades Association (1882). Mr. Zemin died 15th November 1894. (*Position of Monument*:—9th Walk; South Block, Plot 42; 2nd row east; 1st grave from north.)

The last name to be added is that of a lady who died early this year: Mrs. J. C. Owen, formerly well known as Miss Valerie Van Tassell, the balloonist. (*Position*:—9th Walk; North Block, Plot V; 2nd row west; 2nd grave from south).



"Rise up, Sir Richmond."



Old English Church at Baddegama.
(Photo by Capt. A. Work.)



Old English Church at Baddegama.
(Photo by Capt. A. Work.)

S.S., Florican,
Calcutta, 24th February 1911.

REV. W. K. FIRMINGER,

EDITOR, "*Bengal: Past and Present*."

DEAR SIR,—I beg to submit two photos. of an old English church situated at a place called Baddegama, 12 miles from Point De Galle, which may be of interest to readers of *Bengal: Past and Present*.

This church was consecrated by Bishop Heber in 1825. It stands on a hill overlooking a straggling village built on the banks of the beautiful Gingange as it winds its way through cocoanut, tea and rubber plantations.

At first one wonders why a church was built in such a thinly populated district, but on second thoughts one cannot help seeing that had Galle retained its position as the premier port of Ceylon, Baddegama, owing to its higher altitude and lower temperature, would have become the fashionable residential quarter.

Yours faithfully,
ANDREW WORK.

OLD PARISH REGISTERS.—The following letter appears in the *Catholic Herald of India*, 25th April:—

SIR,—In the course of assisting the Rev. Mr. Firminger in editing the old Parish Registers preserved in the vestry of St. John's Church (formerly the Anglican Cathedral) with a view to their republication in the Calcutta Historical Society's journal, I have sometimes had occasion to refer to the records of other churches in and around Calcutta. To the Catholic clergy, who have very kindly accorded me permission to look into the registers of their respective churches, I now tender my sincere thanks. I am especially sensible of the extreme courtesy I received in this respect from the Rev. Fathers Neut, Van de Mergel, Van Trooy and Wauters, and from Brothers Apel and Ronc. To my friends, Messrs. A. Lehuraux and G. O'Connell, who kindly obtained for me the necessary permission, I am no less obliged.

The registers at the Catholic Cathedral, Murgihatta, contain, among other interesting items, the marriage on 14th February 1772 of Charles Sealy to Miss Maria Emin (Hammond). Mr. and Mrs. Sealy became the parents of Mary Ursula, Lady Baring (wife of Sir Thomas Baring, Bart.), and hence the great grand-parents of Lord Northbrook, Viceroy of India. Mrs. Sealy is buried in the Cathedral compound. Another interesting entry in these registers is the burial, on 28th March 1801, of Mrs. Mary Carey, who had

survived the Black Hole massacre and to whom a memorial tablet was erected here by the Bengal Government at the instance of the Calcutta Historical Society.

Marcellina Pires, whose first marriage with a Mr. Peter Mendes is here recorded (19th March 1813), married secondly (St. John's Cathedral, 25th September 1834) Captain the Hon'ble Wm. Hamilton, son of the 7th Lord Belhaven and Stenton. The Hamiltons are both buried at Serampore, he in the Baptist Mission Cemetery and she in the Church of the Immaculate Conception. There is no tablet to mark her grave, but the Rev. Father De Vos has kindly sent me the following translation of the Latin entry in the Burial Register:—"In the year 1858, on the 22nd of October, the Hon'ble Marcellina Hamilton, age 73 years, died in communion with Holy Mother Church and strengthened by the sacraments. Her body was buried in the Church on the 23rd October."

At St. Thomas's, Middleton Row, on 19th June 1869, was solemnised the marriage of Vincent Eyre to his cousin, Catherine Mary Eyre. Major-General Sir Vincent Eyre, who had been one of the Cabul prisoners, and had in the Mutiny relieved Arrah House, subsequently, during the Franco-German War, organised an ambulance service which elicited the grateful acknowledgments of both the belligerent nations.

In the Church of the Sacred Heart, Dharamtala, I succeeded in tracing the marriage-entry (15th March 1855) of Sidney Laman Blanchard with Miss Helen A. M. Carmichael. The witnesses were Mrs. Long (wife of "Padri" Long of the Church Missionary Society, who superintended the translation of the *Nil Durpān*) and T. D'Crux, the clerk or sexton of this Church. It may be added that, according to the custom then prevailing with regard to "mixed" marriages, those of Sealy, Eyre and Blanchard, who were all Protestants, were solemnised in Anglican Churches as well. To revert to the last-named: Sidney Laman Blanchard was the eldest son of Samuel Laman Blanchard, an English author well known in his day. The younger Blanchard edited the *Bengal Hurkaru* during the Mutiny and subsequently purchased the *Indian Statesman*, then published at Bombay, from the late Mr. Robt. Knight. He died at Brighton, 9th November 1883. He was called to the Bar, and wrote two or three books:—"Yesterday and To-day in India," "The Ganges and the Seine," etc. But what is most interesting about him is the fact that he had once been Private Secretary to no less a personage than Beaconsfield. I beg leave to append here the reply I have been privileged to receive in this connection from Mr. W. H. Monypenny whose biography of Disraeli is still in progress:—"The Athenæum, S. W., 31st March 1911. In reply to your enquiry I find by reference to the correspondence that Mr. Sidney Blanchard acted as Private Secretary to

Mr. Disraeli for a short time in 1851, when Mr. Disraeli was leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, but before he had held any office. Mr. Blanchard had apparently been introduced to him by the first Lord Lytton."

Thanking you in anticipation for the hospitality of your columns,

IMPERIAL LIBRARY,
Calcutta, 21st April, 1911.

Yours, etc.,
E. W. MADGE.

MISS EVELYN DRUMMOND calls attention to the following passage from Captain J. Price's *Some Observations and Remarks on a late Publication entitled "Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa,"* as she thinks the reference to Colonel L. Maclean may be of interest, his name having frequently been mentioned in recent issues of *Bengal: Past and Present* :—

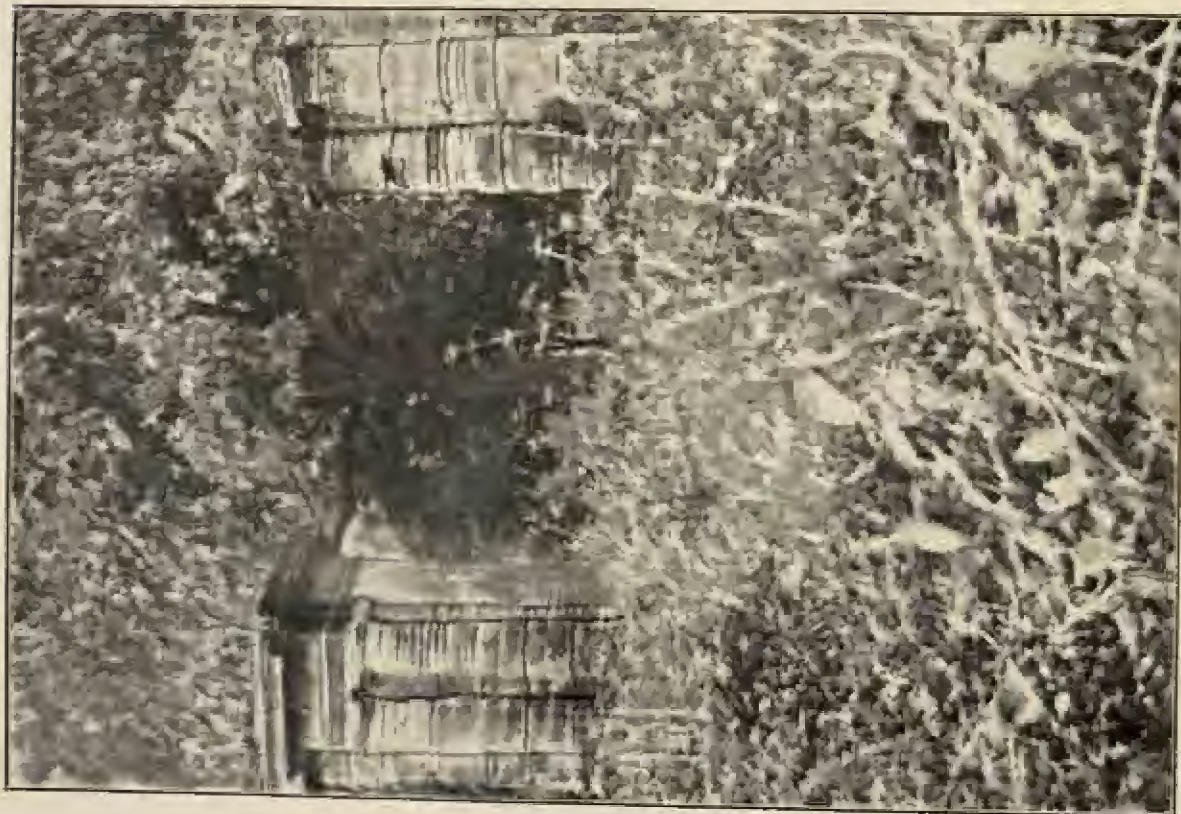
"The name of the author of *Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa*, printed for J. Murray, No. 32, Fleet-Street, is William Macintosh. He was an intimate friend and fellow-labourer, of the famous Colonel Maclean, not unknown in the former ministry of Lord Shelburne, and so much exposed by his newspaper correspondence with John Wilkes, Esqr., but more particularly conspicuous for his obtaining an employment in the East India Company's service, where he acted as Commissary General to their army in Bengal, when General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Philip Francis, arrived at Calcutta, in October 1774. From the appointment of those gentlemen to the Supreme Council at Bengal, he conceived himself to have been injured, and after a little struggling, he resigned his employment in India; but on his way to Europe, he stopped at Madras, where having staid only a few weeks, he got himself introduced to Mahommied Ally Cawn, the Nabob of Arcot, and persuaded that restless Prince to commit his interest relative to the kingdom of Tanjore (lately restored to the King of that country by Lord Pigot) to his management. With such a commission he arrived in Europe, and joined in all the scurrility and abuse of that noble Lord, which infested the nation at that time. He also had the address to persuade Mr. Hastings, that he should be able to convince the Ministry, of the absurdity of sending new and ignorant men to govern that kingdom, and that he would obtain the enlargement of his powers. Mr. Hastings did place some confidence in him, and honoured him with some commissions, under cover of which he most shamefully betrayed him by asserting that he had power to resign the government in his name. The history of that diabolical proceeding is now well known. Maclean returned again to India overland, to obtain more information from the Nabob, and a little more oil to move the wheels which

he declared had been clogged in this cold climate, for want of that necessary ingredient to set them in motion. That he obtained what he wanted, is a fact well known at Madras, and to some people in Europe; but he and the instructions, and the oil pot, went all to the bottom together in his passage home, in his Majesty's ship the *Swallow*. The pernicious meddling political spirit of this man, and the injury thereby done to the national concerns, and to Company's affairs, is only to be matched by the conduct of his partner Macintosh, whose travels I am now about to investigate and explain."

MR. CHARU CHANDRA RAY sends us for publication the following list, with dates, of Officers of the French East India Company at Chandernagore:—

A LIST OF THE OFFICERS OF THE FRENCH EAST INDIA COMPANY
AT CHANDERNAGORE, FROM DESLANDES TO DUPLEIX.

Date.	Names of the Directors-General with Members of Council	Designation.	Observations.
1691	Boureau—Deslandes	...	...
1700	X.....	Directeur General ...	.....
	François Daguia de la Blanchetière	Officier de la Cie ...	.....
	Nicolas François de la Moutidière	Do ...	.....
	Delahadie	Do ...	.....
1702	Pierre Dullivier	Directeur General ...	Directeur General in Pondichery, 1707-1708; 1711-1713.
	Jean Samuel Delahat	Second ...	.....
	Robert Renault	Conseiller ...	.....
	F. D. de la Blanchetière	Do ...	.....
	Beillon	Do ...	.....
	Breune Schomberg	Do ...	.....
1706	Jean Samuel Delahat	Chef pour la Cie ...	.....
	Antoine Martin	.....	.....
	Jean Du Laurent	.....	.....
[Oct.] 1708	François de Flacourt...	Directeur General ...	D. G. <i>per interim</i> in Pondichery, 1706.
	J. S. Delahat	Second ...	.....
(April) 1711	Claude Boyla d'Harcourt	Director-General ...	Died at Chandernagore on 29th November, 1717.
	J. S. Delahat	Second	Was nominated D. G. for Pondichery but died before the nomination reached India.
	F. D. de la Blanchetière	Consteller ...	Second in 1717.
	G. N. Chodray Bourgault	Do ...	Conseiller honoraire; Agent de la nouvelle Cie. de St. Malo.
	Nicolas l'Empereur	Do ...	Chirurgien Major.



Two Main Pillars of the Gate of the Palace at Ghivetty. Looking North.
(Photo by S. N. Ghosh.)



Duplex's Bronze Bust of Duplex in the Place Duplex, Chandernagore.
Raised by public subscription, and unveiled by M. Echard,
Administrateur, on 17th December, 1899.
(Photo by S. N. Ghosh.)

Date.	Names of the Directors' General with Members of Council.	Designation.	Observations.
(Oct.) 1720	J. S. Delabat ... F. D. de la Blanchetiere ... Du Coudry Bourgault ... Nicolas l'Empereur ...	Director General ... Second ... Conseiller ... Do. ...	..... ..... ..... .....
(April) 1721	François de la Boilexiere, Ecuyer ... J. S. De la bat ... F. D. De la Blanchetiere ...	Director General ... Second ... Conseiller ...	..... ..... Juge Gamdar de la Colonie.
	Du Coudray Bourgault ... L'Empereur ... J. S. Delabat ...	Do. ... Do. ... Director General ...	Garde Magazine. Died at Chandernagore in April 1724.
1722	Du Coudray Bourgault ... G. Guillaudeau ... N. l'Empereur ... De la Blanchetiere ... De la Blanchetiere ...	Conseiller ... Do. ... Conseiller ... Do. ... Director General ...	..... Cassier. Died at Chandernagore in August 1729.
1723 (July)	G. Guillaudeau ... N. l'Empereur ... Dumont ... Pierre Collanno ... Pierre Mathieu Renault de St. Germain.	Conseiller ... Do. ... Do. ... Do. ... Do. ...	..... ..... ..... ..... Secrétaire du Conseil in 1726.
1728	F. D. de la Blanchetiere ... G. Guillaudeau ... Jean Nicolas ... Bourlet d'Hervilliers ... François Guy Jacquarde ... Christophe de la Croix ... Guillaume Guillaudeau ...	Director General ... Conseiller ... Do. ... Do. ... Do. ... Do. ... Chief pour la Cie. ...	..... ..... ..... ..... ..... ..... Procureur du Roi
1729 (May)	François Derois ...	Director General ...	Procureur General in Pondichery, 1723-30.
1730 1731	Dupleix ... Edmond Burat ... G. Guillaudeau ... Bourlet d'Hervilliers ... De la Croix ... Nicolas Louis de St. Paul Grossette ...	D. G. ... Second ... Conseiller ... Do. ... Do. ... Do. ... Do. ...	..... Chef de Cassimbazar en juillet, 1733. Juge Jemidar.

N.B.—The dates given, do not necessarily indicate the time of appointment: they show, for the most part, the period when the names figure for the first time in the papers at Chandernagore.

CHAND CHANDRA RAY.

WITH reference to the Review of *Grand's Narrative* appearing on another page, we are indebted to the courtesy of Lieutenant V Hodson, I.A., for the following *errata*:—

Page 276, line 20. For "Scrafton Luke," read "Scrafton, Luke."

Page 277, line 9. *For* "Famine in only part natural," *read* "Famine only in part natural."

Page 281, line 19. *For* "head writer," *read* "head waiter."

Page 286, line 14. *For* "1814," *read* "1816."

Page 292, line 3 from bottom. *Delete* "it."

Page 293, line 5 from bottom. *For* "Balsore," *read* "Balasore."

Page 305, line 8. *For* "Mr. Lawrence Mercer," *read* "Mr. Laurence Mercer."

Page 305, line 14. *For* "longevity of some of its British Resident," *read* "the longevity of some of its British residents."

Page 312, line 17. *For* "H. G. Keen," *read* "H. G. Keene."

Page 316, line 18. *For* "which was received in 1773," *read* "which was raised in 1773."

Page 323. Index. *For* "Cardew, A," *read* "Cardew, F. W."

Page 323. Index. *For* "Cator, Mrs. Joseph (*née* Diana Birtie)," *read* "Cator, Mrs. Joseph (*née* Diana Bertie)."

Page 325. Index. *For* "Drumnond," *read* "Drummond."

Page 326. Index. *For* "Gall, Laurence," *read* "Gall, Lawrence."

Page 327. Index. Hand, J. R. *For* "306," *read* "305."

Page 334. Index. *For* "Toone, Col. Swinney," *read* "Toone, Col. Swiney."

MR. HODSON adds:—Grand says (p. 125, three lines from bottom) "... Mr. Mercer, who had filled that station for four years," *i.e.*, from 1784. Now his brother, writing under date 30th November 1782, says "Lawrie . . . is up the country at Patna . . . he is Judge of the adawlett at Patna, and has an income of about three thousand a year."

I see that Grand (p. 215) claims salary at the rate of 30,000 sicca Rs. per annum, plus his 'receipts.'

MR. K. N. DHAR, M.A., sends us the three following inscriptions in the cemetery at Deoghur, S. P., transcribed by himself. They will not be found in C. R. Wilson's *List of Inscriptions in Bengal*, and relate to the period of the Mutiny, long after the *Bengal Obituary* was published:—

(1)

Sacred

To the memory
of

SIR N. R. LESLIE, Bart.,

10th N. I. and Adjutant,

5th Irregular Cavalry,

Killed at Rohinee, 12th June 1857,

In the

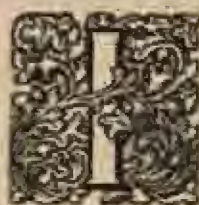
35th year of his age.

- (2) LIEUT. H. C. A. COOPER,
 32nd N. I.,
 Killed by Mutineers,
 9th Oct. 1857,
 In his 29th year.
-

- (3) Here rest in Jesus
 The mortal remains of
 ROBERT EDINGTON RONALD,
 Asst. Commissioner,
 Who fell at the post of duty
By the murderous hands of the
 Mutineers of the 32nd N. I.,
 On the 9th Oct. 1857,
 aged
34 years, 4 months & 23 days.
Erected to his dear memory
By his sorrowing widow,
 Ellen.
" Father, Thy will be done.



Leaves from the Editor's Note-Book.



IN my last "Leaves" I alluded to the transactions of W. M. Thackeray, the Novelist's grandfather, in the matter of elephants. The following documents, copied for me at the India Office, do not solve the mystery, but they throw a considerable amount of light on the subject:—

Extract from Bengal Consultations, Revenue Council, Fort William, the 6th September 1774

President's Minute regarding the Sylhet Elephants.—The President acquaints the Board that since the receipt of the Company's Orders in 1770, forbidding their being put to any further expence for Catching of Elephants, the farmers of Sylhet have been under the necessity of taking upon themselves that charge to secure their lands from the ravages which those animals would otherwise commit on them. The number they have caught has varied from year to year, and they have disposed of them to the best advantage they could, in order to indemnify their expence. The farmers, however, understanding that the Company are now in want of a stock of Elephants, for the use of the Army, have made a Tender to the President of the sale of those they caught last year, in number about 66, according to the accompanying paper.

The conditions on which they make this Tender are as follows:—

That the elephants shall be immediately delivered into the custody of any Agent at Sylhet, whom the Board may appoint to receive them.

That the expence, however, of maintaining them, as well as every other charge of transporting them to Patna shall be and remain on account of the farmers, as well as the risk of death, until they are delivered at the aforesaid place, to the order of the President and Council.

That an escort of Sepoys to accompany them shall be supplied by the Company, but that every other necessary conductor shall be provided by the Farmers, and the elephants shall be despatched from Sylhet, as soon as may be thought expedient after the breaking up of the rains.

That the usual method of disposing of elephants is at a certain rate per cubit, and that they enhance in their value in proportion to their height. But that in order to ascertain and conclude the bargain at once, the Farmers are desirous of setting an average price for them one with another.

That this price shall be 1,000 *Sticca* Rs. for each elephant, which in consideration of the farmers being already greatly in advance for the expence of catching them and still to be burthened with the whole further charges until their delivery at Patna, shall be advanced them half in ready money now, and the other half on committing the elephants to the custody of the Company's Agent at Sylhet.

(Here follows a list of the elephants at Sylhet giving names, height, age and length of teeth.)

<i>Abstract.</i>				Males.	Females	Total
Gunda elephants	...	...	...	7	...	7
Pertabghur do.	...	...	...	5	11	16
Bandasul do.	...	...	...	3	13	16
Longlab do.	—	...	...	9	18	27
Total				24	42	66



MRS. MOORE.
(Sarah Richmond Webb.)



Peter Moore.

Board's remark.—The Board esteeming this tender of the elephants caught last year in Sylhet very advantageous for the Company as well as in respect of price as in that it will enable them to carry into execution the plan already resolved on in the General Department and strongly recommended in the report of the Military Committee of the Court of Directors for employing elephants for the carriage of a Brigade in lieu of Bullocks.

Resolution.—Resolved that it be accepted, that in conformity to the conditions the sum of 33,000 *Sicca* Rupees be advanced on account their cost from the Khalsa Treasury and the following letter be written to the Chief and Council at Dacca :—

TO RICHARD BARWELL, ESQ.

CHIEF AND COUNCIL OF REVENUE AT DACCA.

GENTLEMEN,

Enclosed we transmit you extract of our Proceedings at this day's Consultation containing a Tender for selling the elephants caught last year in Sylhet for the use of the Company and our Resolution upon it. We desire you will in consequence appoint a proper person to receive the elephants at Sylhet and see them despatched to Patna as soon as the season will possibly permit directing that they proceed thither with all expedition and by the nearest route. Agreeably to the conditions of the purchase you will please to furnish the Daroga with an escort of Sepoys and you will address the Chief and Council of Patna desiring them to receive the elephants and follow such instructions concerning them as may be transmitted by the Hon'ble the President.

You will also please to advise us the number of elephants received into the charge of the Company's Agent at Sylhet to regulate us in the payment of the balance of their price.

We are etc.

FORT WILLIAM,

The 6th September '74.

Extract Bengal Letters received in England—Reve. Dept., Fort William, dated 10th December 1776.

"3. We acquainted you in the 116 Paragraph of Our letter by the Syren of Mr. Thackeray having entered a suit in the Supreme Court of Judicature for the Balance which he claimed on account of the Elephants purchased by the Hon'ble Company in September 1774 of the Sylhet Farmers.

"4. That gentleman proved, that the Elephants when delivered to the Company's Agents were his own property, that they were caught by his people, at his own expence and the Receipt given by the Provincial Council proving the delivery of them, a Decree was passed in his favor for the sum of 29,000 Rupees with Costs of Suit. We have accordingly directed the amount to be paid him."

40. The circumstances which more immediately claim our attention are, the Company's Agent, who was to receive the elephants from the supposed farmer (but in reality from Mr. Thackeray) was appointed by himself; that when the elephants were delivered by Mr. Thackeray's Agent at Patna, it is stated that they were unfit in every respect for service; that some died on the first day's march; and that only 16 out of 66 survived the march from Dinapore to Belgram, the place of their destination.

41. From these and other circumstances the majority of our Council, before the death of Colonel Munson, thought proper to put such questions to Mr. Thackeray as might lead to a discovery, whether any collusion had been practised, or improper influence used by persons in power to induce the Council at Patna to accept elephants in the condition above

described, so much to the damage of the Company. To their questions Mr. Thackeray made evasive answers, and in short refused to give the desired satisfaction; whereupon the Board resolved, that the balance claimed by Mr. Thackeray should not be paid by the Company.

42. As Mr. Thackeray was the Company's Resident at Sylhet, and has acknowledged that the Company's Agent, who was to receive the elephants from the supposed farmers, was appointed by himself, and as the elephants were delivered at Patna in a state unfit for service, we deem the questions put to him by General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis not only proper, but absolutely necessary.

43. The reasons assigned by Mr. Thackeray for withholding information from the Board were, because, having given his word and honour that he would not divulge particulars, he might, by breaking his promise, forfeit the character of *"a man of principle and honour,"* and suffer in the opinion of his friends. These reasons appear to us very extraordinary, when urged by a man whose duplicity had just been manifested: who had to use the Governor-General's words *"been convicted of having secretly obtained the farm of Sylhet, under fictitious titles and punished for that offence."* Nor are we able to reconcile the Governor-General's tenderness for Mr. Thackeray's honour and delicacy with his own further declaration, that from the above transaction Mr. Thackeray had been *"unanimously and justly condemned."*

44. Your letter of the 19th December informs us, that the Supreme Court had passed a decree in favour of Mr. Thackeray for Rs. 29,000, and costs of suit, and that you have ordered the money to be paid.

45. We have observed that our Attorney was served with notice of trial the 14th November, about twenty days after the death of Colonel Manson; and to our cost we find, that the majority of Council, consisting then of the Governor-General and Mr. Barwell, instead of preparing for a proper defence, deserted the cause, and thereby subjected the Company to the payment of the money.

46. The amount of the Company's loss on this occasion is not the principal object of consideration, but when we find it suggested by General Clavering, that the cause was lost by *"a most shameful desertion"* on the part of the defendants, whose duty it certainly was to guard our property; that not a single witness was produced on the Part of the Company, we are induced to think, with the General, that a majority of the Board though they may not chuse to make a formal order on the treasury to satisfy unjust claims, may nevertheless encourage suits to be instituted in the Supreme Court, overrule the opinion of the Company's Counsel, prevent their attorneys from adopting the best mode of defence, suffer verdicts to be given against the Company, and shelter themselves under such verdicts, in disposing of our property to individuals.

47. Mr. Farrer not only gave his opinion fully and clearly against the possibility of Mr. Thackeray's recovering the money by a suit at law, but also declared, that in every part of the transaction, from the origin to the close, he perceived such strong marks of fraudulent misrepresentation and concealment, that it seemed to him *essential to justice*, to investigate the matter to the bottom, by a bill of discovery; that forbearance would be to suffer, in matters of property, those things to be concealed under a false idea of honour and principle in one of the parties concerned, which the justice of the case required to be revealed. And we are sorry to observe, that by the death of Colonel Manson, the Governor-General and Mr. Barwell's opinion, though trifling, became sufficient to set aside the most solemn opinion of our Counsel in a matter which concerned the Company's property, and which opinion appears to us equally just and judicious.

48. Upon the whole of this transaction, as we fully approve the conduct of General Clavering and Mr. Francis, because it has been, in our opinion, highly meritorious, so we are compelled to declare, that the behaviour of our Governor-General and Mr. Barwell has in this instance been highly improper and inconsistent with their duty.

"Vol. I of Appendix to Parliamentary Proceedings against Warren Hastings page 175. This contains paras. 37 to 48 word for word as above.

"Beveridge's quotation from a letter of the Court of Directors of 28th November 1777.¹ This letter contains also paras. 37 to 48 as above.

There is no other reference to the elephant question in the Directors' letter.

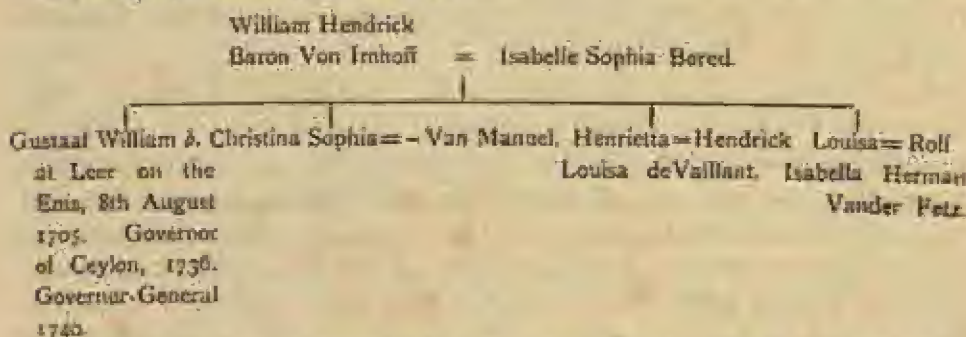
Extract of the Company's General Letter to Bengal, dated the 28th November 1777.

Para. 37. A further instance in which the conduct of the Governor-General and Mr. Barwell, as a majority of the Board, appears to us not only improper, but highly reprehensible, is that of rejecting the advice of our Standing Counsel, and refusing to concur in filing a bill of discovery to oblige Mr. Thackeray to declare who were the persons concerned with him in furnishing the Company with elephants.

38. We observe that our late President states to the Council, in consultations of the 6th of September, 1774, that the farmers of Sylhet had made a tender to him of about 66 elephants, at 1,000 rupees each; that the Board esteemed it an advantageous offer, and accepted the elephants under certain conditions.

39. We find that the farm of Sylhet was granted by the Committee of Circuit; that the Company's advance to the farmers of Sylhet, of 33,000 rupees for elephants was received by one of the Members of that Committee. It has, however, since appeared that the ostensible farmers, or persons named in the Committee's Settlement, never existed; and that Mr. Thackeray, the Company's Resident at Sylhet, was the real farmer, under fictitious names.

SOME months ago Mr. F. H. deVos, the well-known authority on the history of the Dutch in Ceylon, made inquiries through our Secretary (Mr. Champkin) as to whether or no the Imhoffs of Calcutta were related to Gustaaf Von Imhoff who was Governor of Ceylon in 1736. The following is a family-tree of the Ceylon Imhoffs:—



Gustaaf by his marriage had a son named Jacob William who died in Colombo in 1736. By a woman (native?) named Helene Peeters, given

to him he had three children, who were legitimatised and granted permission to bear the title by the Prince of Orange.

1. Jan Willem, Baron Von Imhoff. Born 3rd April 1747. Colonel of Cavalry, married Lady Christina Emerena, daughter of Baron Lewe.
2. Isabelle Anthonie, Baroness Von Imhoff. Born 8th May 1748.
3. Wilhelmine Sophia, Baroness Von Imhoff. Born 23rd September 1749, died before 24th October 1750.

I submitted the query to Sydney C. Grier, who writes to me : " As regards your correspondent's question about Imhoff's descent, Sir Charles Lawson mentions especially that he was a 'near kinsman of Baron Gustave Imhoff, who was appointed Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies in 1740.' As usual, no precise data are given, but as Sir Charles says that Imhoff's father was Baron Christopher Imhoff, it would seem probable that Christopher was either a brother or first cousin of Gustave—the latter, if your correspondent's genealogical tree is complete, as he had no brother, only sisters. I should imagine that Fort Gustavus at Chinsura was named after Gustave, who must have been a personage of importance, as Sir Charles mentions the large silver medal struck in his honour and now in the possession of Miss Winter through Sir Charles Imhoff."

LOOKING through a MS. copy of Garrison and Upcountry Registers at St. John's (specially transcribed for us) I notice on February 1793 the marriage by the Rev. P. Linrick at Bhagulpore of Thos. Brooke, Esq., Collector of Shahabad, and Anna Maria Stuart, spinster. Thomas and Anna Maria Brooke were the parents of Rajah James Brooke of Sarawak, who was born in 1803, and baptised the same year at Secrole, Benares. On 6th January 1793 the same clergyman married at Dinapore Alexander Newell to Maria Teresa Watson, "widow, relict of Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Watson." Watson of Watgunge died at Dover in September 1786. Readers of Sir William Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal* will remember Christopher Keating the Collector of Birbhum. On 31st December 1791 I see that the Rev. T. Blanchard married Charles Kegan, Assistant Surgeon, Honourable Company's Service, to Nancy Keating, spinster of Beerbhoom." In Vol. IV of *Bengal: Past and Present* a good deal was said about the Pringle family. I notice on 31st June 1791 a marriage at Cawnpore between Andrew Pringle, Captain, 3rd European Battalion, and Miss Cordelia Fortnom. On 2nd May Robert Percival Pott married Miss Sarah Cruttenden

at Berhampore. The following acrostic appeared in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 26th April 1787—

Some who a partner seek for life,
Are anxious for a wealthy wife;
Look for high birth, or title crave,
Love seems to them but lucre's slave
Ye sordid fools, just meet ye find.
Choose I, with more judicious mind,
Riches of greater worth than gold.
Unconscious dignity unfold
The soul with noblest gifts elate,
Tho' humble to the lowest state.
Endearments, all that tend to please,
Neatness, elegance, cheerful ease
Dance, music, song; fair form and face
Each mental charm; each winning grace
Wan'd in the lines which now I trace.

IN my "Leaves" in Vol. III. of *Bengal: Past and Present* (page 171) I referred to the mysterious disappearance of Mr. Benjamin Bathurst when on a secret mission to Vienna. He was the father of the Rose Bathurst the story of whose death in the Tiber was told in the "Leaves" to which I have referred. His wife, Phyllida, was the daughter of a well-known servant of John Company—Sir John Call. From the *Statesman* of 1st January I make this cutting:—

The mysterious disappearance of a diplomatist upwards of one hundred years ago has been recalled this week by the discovery at Perleberge, in North Germany, of a human skeleton. In November, 1809, Mr. Benjamin Bathurst, son of the Bishop of Norwich, was returning from a special mission to Budapesth and Vienna under the assumed name of Koch and had reached Perleberg on the main road from Berlin to Hamburg in company with an A.-D.-C. and a servant and had halted to take supper and change horses. He left the post-house to see if the horses were being got ready and almost immediately disappeared.

Subsequent investigation showed strong evidence that he had been murdered by some of Napoleon's agents, and one of these, the Count D'Entraigues, a spy in London, was mysteriously assassinated at Twickenham after having hinted to Bathurst's wife that he could solve the mystery. No doubt is entertained that the remains now discovered are those of the ill-starred diplomatist.

THE following letter is worth placing on record here for the advantage of the future biographer of General Sir Eyre Coote:—

To

THE HON'BLE THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL AT FORT ST. GEORGE,
FORT WILLIAM, 13th October 1780.

GENTLEMEN,

In consequence of the Desire expressed in your Letter of the 9th ultimo that one of the Company's ships in this River might be sent to you with half her loading for Europe to

receive the remainder of it at Fort St. George; and so convey your Dispatches to the Company, the Ship *Duke of Kingston* is now sent to you half laden for that Purpose. By this Ship Lieutt. Genl. Sir Eyre Coote, Commander in Chief of the Forces in India, his Family, and Staff take their Departure to Fort St. George and a Reinforcement of European Troops embarks also for your Presidency.

We have thought it necessary to order one of our largest Pilot Schooners to proceed with the *Duke of Kingston* to Fort St. George, for the purpose of conveying home also with all possible Expedition your public Dispatches to the Honble Court of Directors. The Command of this Vessel is held by Mr. H. J. Dempster and placed under the orders of Lieutt. Genl. Sir Eyre Coote, whom we have requested not to permit her to be detained beyond a Week after her arrival in Madras Boards it being of the utmost consequence that the Honble Court of Directors should have the earliest Information of the State of the Company's affairs at your Presidency. Two other Pilot Vessels sail also in Company with the *Duke of Kingston*, for the Purpose of conveying Troops to your Presidency, and landing them from that ship on her arrival near it. Three months provisions are put on board the Vessels, and two months pay has been advanced for the Commanders and Vessels Complement. The *Tryal* has been supplied with Provisions for the whole Voyage to England, and the Pay of the Commander, officers, and men advances to them for a month. We request that you will order further advances to be made to them for four months on her Departure from the Coast, to proceed on the remainder of her Voyage.

We herewith send you a chest of Military stores consigned to your Presidency by the Ship under Dispatch.

The following Quantity of salt Provisions for the use of your Garrison will be delivered to your order by Captn. Natt :—

26	Caskes of Country Beef.	
15	Do	Pork.
14	Do.	Europe Beef.
18	Do.	Pork.

In our Letter of the 4th ultimo, we informed you that Mr. John Fergusson had engaged to deliver the Quantity of 20,000 Bags of good Cargo Rice at your Presidency in the Course of January and February next, in addition to the Quantity which he had before agreed to deliver in those months, if he should be able to procure sufficient Tonnage for the conveyance of it. Mr. Fergusson has lately informed us that he has obtained Tonnage for it, and will deliver the Quantity engaged we send you Information of this Circumstance, that you may expect such Quantity of Rice in addition to the certain supply with which you have before been made acquainted, at the season fixed for its delivery.

We send you enclosed a Bill of Exchange for 2,000 Star Pagodas drawn in your favor by Mr. John O'Donnell, and payable twenty one days after Sight.

On the Receipt of your Letter of the 20th August we ordered every possible Inquiry to be made concerning the Military Stores said to be consigned to your Presidency by the ship *Cores*, but without Effect. It does not appear that any Quantity of Military Stores or medicines has been landed here from the ship *Cores* on account of your Presidency.

We are &c.

THE following letter from the Captain of a vessel in quarantine is of interest:—

MARSEILLE LAZARETTO,
18th April 1778.

To

JAMES PETER AURIOL, ESQ.

SIR,

I Request that you will be pleased to acquaint the Honorable, the Governor-General etc. Council of my arrival at Marseilles the 17th Inst. and that I this day deliver'd my Packets to the Hon'ble Company's Agent at this place, to be dispatched by the way of Nice, this evening; accompanied with two others from Bombay and one for his Majesty.

The reason of their being sent by this Post is, that it is hourly expected here, that War will be declared between France and England; and the Agent did not think it Safe to send them thro' France.

My Quarantine I believe will be only twenty days, it is not yet determined, but cannot be shorter. I therefore hope my dispatching the Packets will meet the approbation of the Honorable Board. I shall go post to London, immediately on the expiration of my Quarantine, and Wait on the Honorable Court of Directors for their farther Commands.

I was obliged to open the Packet Box, before it came into the Lazaretto; or it must have lain forty days (or as long as the Ships' cargoe) in Quarantine. They Cut at both ends, and sides, all Paper Parcels, and Letters, in a very destructive manner, to such as are made up like the Revue Accrs. which I had much Trouble to intercede so far, as to let them Escape being Cut thro' all the round part of the Sheets, it was tied with a piece of Silk thread, and that had very near Condemned the Packet to lay Quarantine, even the Sheet must not be tacked together; everything to be immediately dispatch'd must consist of nothing but Paper and Wax. I give you this full information Sir, for your farther Guide when dispatches come this way. And every Single Letter and Parcel, after being thus Cut, are put into a Pan of Vinegar and pressed till wet thro, I saw the whole of this Operation performed, and the Packet delivered in that state, to the Hon'ble Company's Agent who has Undertaken to dry, and forward it.

I am, Sir,

Your most Obedient

and most Humble Servant,

JOHN THOMSON.

A Letter was dispatched from hence, to the Hon'ble Court of Directors Seven days ago, from Mr. Baldwin at Cairo; giving an Account of the decease of Lieut. General Sir John Clavering; it came by a Ship that Sailed from Demyetia Sixteen days before I left Alexandria.

I had not dispatched my Packets an hour before I received Information that I might send Letters to Cairo, if ready in an hour's time; I embrace the Opportunity and hope this will be in Time.

As my Passage has been very long, I send an Extract of my Journal.

March ye. 4th—I Sailed from Alexandria

10th—Bore away for the Island of Neo. in a hard Gale of Wind, finding me lost Ground.

- 13th.—Being moderate put to Sea again
 22nd.—Bore away a few leagues for shelter under the So. end of Sicily in Company
 13 Sail, it Blew a hurricane.
 28th.—It has continued to Blow till this Evening too hard for any Ship to get to
 the Wt. ward, Wind N W in the Evening little wind; put to Sea
 again.
 31st.—In sight of the Island of Santurin, when another Gale of Wind Obligated us
 to Bear away for Malta, where we arrived next morning; I here send
 advice by the Post to the Hon'ble Court of Directors, of my dispatches;
 many Ships arrived a few hours after us, that had put back.
 April ye. 3rd.—Moderate weather, put to Sea again.
 13th.—This Evening was within two Miles of our Port at Marseilles, when it came
 on to Blow a Gale and drove us off again, but Carried all in our Power.
 14th.—At 10 this morning gain'd our Port within a $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Mile. Rode with four
 Anchors, all this day, and the following; expecting every hour to be
 driven to Sea again.
 16th.—The Gale continued untill this day, with such Violence, that we could not
 have any Intercourse with the Shore.
 17th.—I entered the Lazaretto.
 They have not known such a Blowing Season for many Years many
 Ships are lost and many missing.

OF Mr. Christopher Keating we hear much in Sir Wm. Hunter's *Annals of Rural Bengal*. The three following letters will be of interest to readers of that book and of Mr. Beveridge's work on Bakargunge:—

BALASORE RIVER,

Feb. 13th 1783

To

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ., GOVERNOR-GENERAL, ETC.,

GENTLEMEN OF THE COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

I this Inst. rec'd the inclosed which I think it my Duty to forward you;* at ye same time have rec'd Intelligence from a fishing Boat, who left ye Hooringottah ye 11th at night, that she had seen three Europe-Boats full of Men rowing up the River, they also told me they had heard from one of my Two Boats that the Captain of one of the ships had nigh been taken the night before but that the Boat the Captain was in out rowed and sailed the other, this being the Case I have wrote Mr. Tulloh to send what Burgandesses he can spare and with what I can raise; I hope to give a good account of them, if they have no sloop I think the Frigate cannot find her way in and ye Boats we shall be a match for. I have Commanders and Mates fourteen Europeans wch. with the Sepoys I hope will prevent their plundering or burning my Vessells, which seems one of their Intentions.

* This enclosure contained copies of private notes of no consequence.

Excuse me as soon as I get to Jaynagar I will do myself the honor of writing you further. I hope to be there early in the morning.

I am Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,
Yr. most obt. Servt.
R. W. WOOD.

P.S.—I have just advice the *San Carlos* is ashore, and a Sloop is come over the Barr yesterday morning. I hope she may belong to ye Carlos.

To

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND THE GENTLEMEN OF
THE SUPREME COUNCIL.

GENTLEMEN,

I was made Prisoner at Medigunge by Mr. Wood of Madapore, in the course of last July, sent from thence to Dacca and from that town to Calcutta; after having detained me five Days they made me sign a writing by which I am not to do any thing, nor undertake any thing against the Interests of the Company, and other things which I do not recollect; after which I was sent to Chaudernagore, where I had a Room to expect my Subsistance; as I can believe it to be forgotten, I hope from your Justice, Gentlemen, that you will not refuse it me, besides the Losses which my Detention occasions to me renders this Succour necessary; the Orders which you have caused to be signified to us to hold ourselves ready to quit Chaudernagore on the first of December next, make me entreat you to grant me my Passage on the First of your Ships which you may dispatch for Europe, having no Resources left for me here in France: I have some money and other Effects left at Medigunge, give me an order Gentlemen, for them to be delivered up to me.

I have the Honor to be,
Gentlemen,
Your most obdt. H'ble Servt.,
(Sd.) FELGRIN.
St. Remy.

A true translation from the original.

A. L. GILBERT,
French Translator.

To J. P. AURIOL, ESQR.,
SECRETARY TO THE GENERAL DEPARTMENT,
FORT WILLIAM.

BACKER GUNGE,
The 17th February 1783.

SIR,

I was this day favor'd with your's under date the 11th instant, enclosing a Public Letter from the Hon'ble Board to Captn. Murray of the *San Carlos*; the which I immediately dispatched in a well man'd boat, in search of her, tho' for the following reasons, I do not expect they will be able to deliver it, some few days since an officer & five or six men belonging to the *San Carlos*, was picked up by one of Mr. Wood's overseers in the Woods; the Account they give of themselves is that being out sounding on a Rapt a squall of Wind sprung up & blew them away from the Ship, the which together with the Tide drove them

to that place, they were sent up, and the Officer accompan'd Mr. Gill on another Trip in search of the Ship, could not find her, but in the course of their enquiries learnt that a Ship had been seen standing W. S. West answering her description, from this I have some Reason to suppose, Mr. Absall and his men got safe on board, and from the circumstance of having ascertain'd exactly where they were have been enabled to extricate themselves from the Shoals—Should this be the Case, I shall enclose the Letter back to you immediately on its return.—

I request you will inform the Hon'ble Board of the Contents of this Letter, and am,

Sir,

Your most Obedient Humble Servant,

C. KEATING.

WE have received the following letter from Colonel Hugh W. Pearse, D.S.O.:—

38, ELM PARK GARDENS, CHELSEA, S.W.,
21st March 1911.

DEAR SIR,

The last number of *Bengal: Past and Present* came rather as a shock to me, as it reminded me that I had never fulfilled my promise to send you a photograph of the painting of Colonel T. D. Pearse in the Artillery Mess.

I have, however, written to ask permission to have the photograph taken, and if I am allowed to do this will lose no time in obtaining the photograph and in sending it to you.

I wonder if you received a copy of *Blackwood's Magazine* [for May 1902] with my article on Colonel T. D. Pearse. I sent it to you many months ago. I forget the exact time. I ask you because I see in your last number a reference to Colonel Pearse's supposed descent from Lord Chancellor Clarendon.

This descent remains a mystery to the Pearse family.

I heard this morning from Colonel Vernon Pearse, who, as you may remember, is the descendant of Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse's uncle, Mr. Best Pearse.

According to all his information, Colonel T. D. Pearse's father, Mr. Thomas Pearse was the son of Thomas Pearse, M.P., by his first wife Rebecca Deane. Thomas Pearse, M.P., was again the son of Thomas Pearse, Surgeon, of Chatham, by his wife Rebecca Swanton.

The mother of Surgeon Pearse may have been a Hyde. He died 1693 and his date is therefore suitable.

Would you be so kind as to send me a copy of Colonel Pearse's letter to his sister from which you quote? It might give other clues which would assist us to elucidate the family history.

I have been ill lately, but am now on my legs, and hope before long to send you my promised sketch of William Tooke.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely

HUGH PEARSE



Coronation Hall, Manipur.
(Photo. by Lieut. W. K. Firminger.)



Gate of Durbar Hall, Manipur.
(Photo. by Lieut. Walter K. Firminger.)



Monument over the Grave of the Victims of the Massacre,
Residency Burial-ground, Manipur.

Calcutta Historical Society.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER 1910.

Patrons:

- HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HON. THE BARON HARDINGE OF PENSHURST, G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., ETC., *Viceroy and Governor-General of India.*
 THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF MINTO, P.C., K.G.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.
 THE RIGHT HON. BARON CURZON OF KEDLESTON, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., M.A., P.C., F.R.S., D.C.L.
 HIS HONOR SIR EDWARD NORMAN BAKER, Bart., K.C.S.I., I.C.S., *Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.*
 SIR LANCELOT HARE, K.C.S.I., *Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam.*
 SIR FRANCIS MACLEAN, Kt., K.C.I.E., M.A.
 THE MOST REVEREND REGINALD STEPHEN COPLESTON, D.D., *Lord Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India and Ceylon.*
 THE MOST REVEREND DR. BRICE MEULEMAN, D.D., S.J., *Archbishop of Calcutta.*
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 THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD REAY, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., LL.D., P.C., D.L.
 COLONEL THE HONORABLE SIR NRIPENDRA NARAIN HHUP, BAHADUR, G.C.I.E., C.B., MAHARAJA OF COUCH BEHAN, A.D.C. to His Majesty King Edward VII.
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 HIS HIGHNESS THE HON. MAHARAJA SIR RAMESHWARA SINGH, BAHADUR OF DUREHANGA, K.C.I.E.
 H.H. THE HON. THE MAHARAJADHIRAJ SIR BEJOY CHAND MAHTAB, BAHADUR OF BURDWAN, K.C.I.E.

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THE EDITOR, "BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT."

Officiating Honorary Secretary:—MR. A. W. WATSON, I.C.S.

Editor, "Bengal: Past and Present":—THE REV. W. K. FIRMINGER, B.D., F.R.G.S.

Honorary Treasurer:—MR. JAS. C. MITCHELL.

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Subscription Rs. 20 per annum. For particulars of membership apply the Honorary Secretary.

PRELIMINARY.



WITH the issue of this report the Calcutta Historical Society closes the fourth official year of its existence. The Society was founded at a meeting held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, on the 27th of April 1907 with the object of promoting interest in local historical research and organising meetings and tours to places connected with Calcutta history or possessing claims of personal interest with those whose names and deeds are prominently associated with the foundation and growth of the city and its environs. As a means of promoting its objects the Society publishes a quarterly journal called *Bengal: Past and Present* which is devoted to matters relating to history, sociology, folklore and other subjects allied to the studies that the Society is interested in advancing. The Society has also issued or promoted the issue of separate publications of records and reprints of works of rare historical interest.

MEMBERSHIP.

The most significant feature of the progress of the Society during the year under review is the largely increased membership not only in Calcutta, but up-country and abroad. This can be attributed only to a steady growth of interest in the Society's field of research, which has gradually expanded far beyond the local limits that confined its earlier operations. *Bengal: Past and Present* has recently laid under contribution the historical records not only of Calcutta and Bengal but of Eastern Bengal and Assam, and with very gratifying results. The membership shown in the Annual Report for 1907 was 200; in 1908 it had risen to 222, while in 1909 it had reached 263. Although at the commencement of 1910 thirty-two names were struck off the membership roll in consequence of subscriptions being two years in arrear, the total effective membership at the close of 1910 was 339, an increase of 76 over last year. This result cannot but be regarded as very encouraging, especially when it is remembered that the migratory character of the European residents in Calcutta and elsewhere in India, and the impossibility of keeping in touch at all times with members transferred from one station to another results in an appreciable depletion of the Society's numbers every year. The actual effect of this is shown in the fact that, of the present membership, 135 joined in 1907, 45 in 1908, 45 in 1909 and 114 in 1910. In these figures are included as members the various institutions that are supplied with the Society's journal, on payment, by order of the Government of India and Provincial Governments.

During the past year the Society has lost the services of Mr. Wilmot Corfield, who so efficiently filled the post of Honorary Treasurer of the Society from its foundations up to the time of his retirement from India in December last. As a contributor to *Bengal : Past and Present* and as a keen and earnest worker in all that concerned the welfare of the Society he has rendered most valued service.

Mr. Corfield, it should be noted, produced "*Calcutta Faces and Places in Pre-Camera Days*," which was published by the Society during the year.

In November last the Society underwent a further serious loss by the departure for Singapore of its able and energetic Secretary, Mr. Cyril Champkin, whose place it will, it is feared, be very difficult adequately to fill. Only those who have been acquainted with the inner working of the Society during the last three years can appreciate the immense amount of enthusiasm and hard work which Mr. Champkin has displayed in the Society's interests at the cost of his scant leisure; and while deploring his departure, the Council desire to place on record their deep sense of gratitude to him for his unsparing efforts on the Society's behalf.

"BENGAL : PAST AND PRESENT."

Three numbers of *Bengal : Past and Present* were published during 1910, the issue for the last quarter being unavoidably delayed beyond the end of the year. Amongst the more prominent features may be mentioned the valuable series of Bengal Mofussil Records that were brought to a close during the year; and since age has rendered the original papers now almost undecipherable, the Society may take credit for having rescued these most interesting records from oblivion and thereby made the task of future historians much less difficult. Another series of interest and one that involved a considerable amount of work were the Chandernagore papers; while the reprints of old Calcutta views, with notes on the painters concerned, attracted considerable attention. The Editor of *Bengal : Past and Present* continued the publication of the Memoirs of Colonel T. D. Pearce, which form a valuable contribution to our knowledge of General Sir Eyre Coote and the services of the Bengal Detachment in the Carnatic Wars. Extracts from the registers of St. John's Church from 1759 have been carefully annotated by the Rev. W. K. Firminger and Mr. E. W. Madge; and Miss "Sydney Grier" contributed an article on the second Mrs. Hastings, illustrated by some hitherto unpublished portraits of considerable historical interest. A further selection of prints of old Calcutta has appeared, and the Society is indebted to Mr. A. W. Keith for a well illustrated article on the Buddhist remains at Gya. The letters of Alexander Elliott copied from

the originals in the British Museum, are of importance, and the Shakespear papers of a later period have aroused considerable interest. Mr. F. C. Scallan kindly presented the Society with the excellent sketch of the Armenian Church of St. Nazareth that forms a frontispiece to Vol. V,—an acquisition of more than general interest in view of the fact that the congested surroundings now make it impossible to obtain a satisfactory photograph of this, the oldest church in Calcutta. *Bengal: Past and Present* constitutes a very heavy charge on the Society's funds, but every effort has been made to conduct it economically with due regard for the high standard of production that the Society has always maintained in its quarterly journal. A limited number of back issues is available, but complete sets cannot now be provided by the Honorary Secretary.

PUBLICATIONS.

"The Diaries of Three Surgeons of Patna" was published by the Society in January last at Rs. 3-8 and its sales up to September last resulted in a profit of Rs. 400. Copies are still obtainable from Messrs. Thacker, Spink and Co. or from the Honorary Secretary. Members who are not in possession of this work are reminded that it is the narrative of Surgeons Anderson, Campbell and Fullarton of the Patna massacre of 1763. The book is copiously annotated and contains an Introduction by the Rev. W. K. Firminger. "Calcutta Faces and Places in Pre-camera Days," an album of rare old views of Calcutta and reproductions of pictures of considerable historical interest arranged with notes by Mr. Wilmot Corfield, was issued by the Society later in the year. Half-tone reproductions on special paper in the style that is essential for a work of this nature require a delicacy of treatment that unfortunately considerably enhances the cost, and by issuing the work at Rs. 2 per copy, the Society had up to September last lost Rs. 400 on the venture. This loss being balanced by the profit on "The Diaries of Three Surgeons of Patna," the account was squared and closed in September last, subsequent casual sales of both publications, which have been very small, being credited to the general account of the Society and included in the item "Sales of Other Publications."

The Editor of *Bengal: Past and Present* has been working throughout the year on "A Narrative of the Life of a Gentleman Long Resident in India." This is a reprint of a book by G. F. Grand, originally published in 1814, of which only two copies are known to exist. The reprint contains an introduction by the Rev. W. K. Firminger, B.D., and is very fully annotated and illustrated. The price is Rs. 3 per copy and the book is now obtainable from the Honorary Secretary, Messrs. Thacker, Spink and Co. or Messrs. Newman and Co. It is hoped that every member will order a copy of this

work which has been published by Messrs. Thacker, Spink and Co. under the auspices of the Society.

The thanks of the Society are due to Lord Curzon for a donation of Rs. 300 to assist in the publication of the Society's reprints of records of historical interest. The manuscript volumes, containing copies of letters by Richard Barwell, that were acquired by the Society, have yielded much that is of interest, but it has not yet been possible to commence the task of selecting and arranging them for publication.

EXCURSIONS.

A large party of members visited the old Danish settlement of Serampore early in the year, and opportunity was taken of the occasion to unveil a tablet to the memory of Colonel Ole Bie, the Danish Governor, who, in 1776, refused to accede to the demand of the Honorable East India Company's representatives in Calcutta to dismiss the English missionaries who had settled under his protection. The Baptist College and its interesting relics of Carey, Marshman and Ward and the famous portrait long supposed to be that of Madame Grand, by Zoffany, were inspected, and the visit was in every way successful. In March about forty members visited the Armenian Church of St. Nazareth, the oldest Christian Church in Calcutta and the only one that survived the siege. Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth, author of the "History of the Armenians in India," kindly accompanied the party, and under his guidance the interesting associations of the old building were fully explained. A visit was also made to St. John's Church at the invitation of the Rev. S. Scott, and about sixty members inspected the historical treasures of the old Cathedral under the guidance of Mr. E. W. Madge. The Society also visited the High Court at the invitation of Sir Lawrence Jenkins, and inspected the fine collection of pictures, the documents connected with the historic case against Sir Philip Francis, the note-books of Mr. Justice Hyde, and the many other objects of interest preserved in the building.

The difficulty of obtaining a launch on suitable dates unfortunately made it necessary to abandon the projected visits to Bandel, Chandernagore and Barrackpore.

LIBRARY.

The Library of the Society, which is now located in the Record room of St. John's Church, has received many additions during the year through the kindness of Mr. C. W. McMillan, the Rev. W. K. Firminger, B.D., Mr. A. W. Templeton, Mr. M. J. Seth, Lieutenant C. V. Hodson, Major-General Sir E. Thackeray, K.C.B., V.C., and other generous donors.

PROSPECTIVE PUBLICATIONS.

A number of interesting articles and MSS. collections are in hand for publication in 1911-1912. Among these may be mentioned :—

1. The History of the College of Fort William, by Colonel G. Ranking, I.M.S.
2. The letters of Captain William Mercer of the Governor-General's Body Guard.
3. The Nesbith letters, which will throw an immense amount of light on affairs in Calcutta after the departure of Warren Hastings.
4. The Baptismal, Burial and Marriage Registers of Old Saint Anne's, and the completion of those of St. John's.

The Editor wishes to make a special acknowledgment of the kind services rendered him by Mr. William Foster, Mr. William Irvine, the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J. and "Sydney Grier."

THE THACKERAY CENTENARY COMMEMORATION.

The promulgation of a scheme for a commemoration of the centenary of the birth of William Makepeace Thackeray took effect towards the close of the year. Nothing farther in this regard need, however, be said here as the Council of the Centenary Fund, although it includes many members of the Council of this Society, is now a distinct body and will give public account of its own transactions.

FINANCIAL.

The financial results of the working of the Society throughout the year will be found in the Treasurer's Balance Sheet annexed. The total receipts from all sources amounted to Rs. 9,338-8-11, against Rs. 6,598 in 1909; the total payments amounted to Rs. 10,161-14-11, against Rs. 6,332, and the total amount received in members' subscriptions for 1910 was Rs. 6,757-2-5, against Rs. 4,760 in the previous year. The cash position of the Society at the commencement of the year showed a deficit of Rs. 1,139-11-2. Deducting this amount from the surplus in hand on 31st December 1910 the Society's cash balance on that date showed a deficit of Rs. 823-9.

Although the profit for 1910, Rs. 1,323-8-2, shows good progress compared with the Rs. 266 which was realised in 1909, the present financial condition of the Society is far from satisfactory. Against the present cash balance there is a contingent liability in respect of 17 life subscriptions paid by members. The Society has no reserve and no liquid assets. Its commitments have to be covered by members' subscription that frequently outstand for a considerable time, and, as was pointed out by the Honorary Secretary at the last Annual Meeting, the management of the Society under these

conditions involves a responsibility that the executive should not be called upon to assume.

REPORT.

It is regretted that owing to the sudden departure of Mr. Champkin, there has been much delay in the issue of this report, but considerable difficulty was experienced in securing the services of a member to act in Mr. Champkin's place, and, when one was secured, it was not possible to collect the necessary materials for this Report until some time had elapsed.

A. W. WATSON, I.C.S.,

Officiating Honorary Secretary.

24th April 1911.



Annual General Meeting.



THE Annual General Meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society was held in the Hall of the Asiatic Society, 57, Park Street, on Monday, the 8th May, at 6 P.M.

The following gentlemen were present :—

The Hon. Mr. Justice Stephen,
Vice-President.

Mr. H. A. Stark.

Mr. E. W. Madge.

Mr. G. C. Baral.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Carnduff.

Col. Lloyd-Jones, I.M.S.

Mr. W. H. Phelps.

Mr. G. T. W. Olver.

Mr. S. C. Williams.

Mr. D. Hooper.

Mr. James Luke.

Mr. H. G. Graves.

The Hon. Mr. C. H. Kesteven.

Mirza Sujait All Beg, K.B.

Mr. I. C. Choudhury.

Mr. P. C. Mookerjee.

Mr. P. C. Longley.

Mr. J. C. Mitchell, *Hony. Treasurer.*

Mr. A. W. Watson, *Offg.*

Hon. Secretary.

1. The Honorary Secretary read the notice convening the meeting.
2. The President of the Society, Sir Lawrence Jenkins, having written to express his regret at being unable to attend the meeting owing to illness, it was proposed by Mr. Luke and seconded by Colonel Lloyd-Jones that Mr. Justice Stephen do take the chair. The motion was carried unanimously.
3. The minutes of the last Annual General Meeting were put to the meeting, passed, and signed by the Chairman.
4. The annual Report and Accounts for 1910 were next laid before the meeting, and on the proposal of Mr. Hooper, seconded by Mr. Justice Carnduff, were passed unanimously with the reservation that the figures in the first paragraph dealing with "financial" matters on page 7 of the Report be brought into accord with the figures given in the Statement of Receipts and Disbursements on page 9.
5. The meeting next considered whether it was desirable to take steps with a view to the alteration of the present constitution of the Society, and at the request of the Chairman, the Honorary Secretary read to the meeting para. 6 of the minutes of the meeting of the Society's Council held on the 1st May, 1911. At that meeting the Council had resolved that, in view of the apparent impossibility of obtaining the services of a member to carry on the

business of the Society on the lines hitherto adopted by Messrs. Firminger and Champkin, who had both left India, "it be laid before the General Meeting, as the Council's recommendation, that a Sub-Committee consisting of Mr. Justice Stephen, the Honorary Secretary and the Honorary Treasurer, be appointed to negotiate with the Asiatic Society with a view, if possible, to an amalgamation of this Society therewith." Mr. Justice Stephen remarked that he had not anticipated that he would be called on to take the chair that day, and that he had hoped to move as an ordinary member that the Council's recommendation be accepted; but, in the circumstances, it was perhaps desirable that he should explain to the meeting why the Council had arrived at the resolution which they had just heard read. On the departure of Mr. Champkin from India last December, he had tried for several months to secure the services of an Honorary Secretary to take his place. Several members had been approached by him but all had expressed their inability to accept the position. Finally he had prevailed upon Mr. Watson to carry on the current duties of the Society, bring out its annual report, and convene this general meeting, but Mr. Watson had from the first made it a condition that he should have no responsibility in connection with the publication of *Bengal: Past and Present*, and having regard to the other official duties which Mr. Watson was called upon to perform he (the Chairman) did not consider that this condition was unreasonable. Mr. Firminger the value of whose services as editor of *Bengal: Past and Present* they would all recognise, had left for England last week on two years' leave, and they had therefore to face the fact that they were in want of an Editor and a Secretary who could devote the time to the Society which its present independent constitution required. How then were they to proceed? He thought they would agree that it was impossible to carry on their work on the present lines, unless the much-needed Editor and Secretary should arise; but, as he had indicated, there had been no suggestion of their appearance at present. He therefore considered that, in their present circumstances, they could not do better than follow the Council's advice, and approach the Asiatic Society with a view, if possible, to amalgamation with them on such terms and conditions as the representatives of the two Societies could agree upon. He had reason to believe that the Asiatic Society would meet their advances with sympathetic consideration, and he might add that Mr. Firminger, to whom the Council's suggestion had been referred, had approved of it; and he hoped that if the proposed amalgamation could be effected, a Historical Journal might continue to issue, though it would doubtless take a different form from *Bengal: Past and Present*, and that, when Mr. Firminger returned, he would be able to associate himself therewith with as much success as had attended his efforts hitherto. In conclusion, the

Chairman expressed the view that it was desirable that all outstanding subscriptions should be got in at once, so that the deficit in the Society's accounts might be wiped out, and he informed the meeting that the next number of *Bengal: Past and Present*, which was nearly ready for publication, would, he hoped, be issued to Members within the next few weeks.

A discussion followed in the course of which Mr. Olver raised the question of the legal issues involved in the dissolution of, or amalgamation of the Society with, the Asiatic Society. The Honorary Secretary pointed out that these had not been overlooked, as a reference to the resolution of the Council of 1st May, which had been read that day, would indicate, and the Chairman added that he did not anticipate any serious difficulties on that score. The question, however, of the 17 Life Members would doubtless require consideration and would not be lost sight of. Mr. Phelps trusted that, in the preparation of any scheme of amalgamation, it would be remembered that this Society contained many Members to whom the amount of the subscription payable by them was a consideration, and that the proposed Sub-Committee would endeavour to secure as favourable terms in this regard as possible; while Mr. Williams referred to the social character which the Society had hitherto possessed (*e.g.*, by virtue of its excursions, etc.) and expressed the hope that its proposed amalgamation with the Asiatic Society would not necessarily entail the disappearance of that aspect of its activities.

The Chairman replied that both these recommendations would be kept in view, but deprecated the issue of hard and fast instructions to the suggested Sub-Committee. The Society should remember that they would be approaching the Asiatic Society in the character of persons asking for something, and it would therefore be hardly politic to place their demands too high. He hoped, however, that by careful discussion and mutual concession they would be able to arrive at a result which would be satisfactory to the Members of both bodies. In any case, the present proposals were merely tentative and in no sense final; and it would be open to the Society's Council or the general body of members to accept or discard the terms which the Asiatic Society might offer should they subsequently think fit to do so. Mr. Luke then proposed and Mr. Hooper seconded that the recommendation of the Council, as read to the meeting, be accepted, and that a Sub-Committee consisting of Mr. Justice Stephen, the Honorary Secretary, and the Honorary Treasurer be deputed to represent the Society in the contemplated negotiations with the Asiatic Society.

The Resolution was unanimously carried.

6. At the suggestion of the Chairman, Mr. Stark then proposed and Mr. Justice Carnduff seconded that Mr. A. W. Watson, who had hitherto been acting as Honorary Secretary without regular authority, be formally elected

as the Honorary Secretary of the Society. Mr. J. C. Mitchell was likewise re-elected as Honorary Treasurer, but, in view of the possible amalgamation of the Society with the Asiatic Society, the usual election of members to the Society's Council was deferred. It was decided that the existing members should continue to hold office for the present.

7. It was resolved on the suggestion of Mr. Graves that the Honorary Treasurer be requested to collect the outstanding subscriptions forthwith.

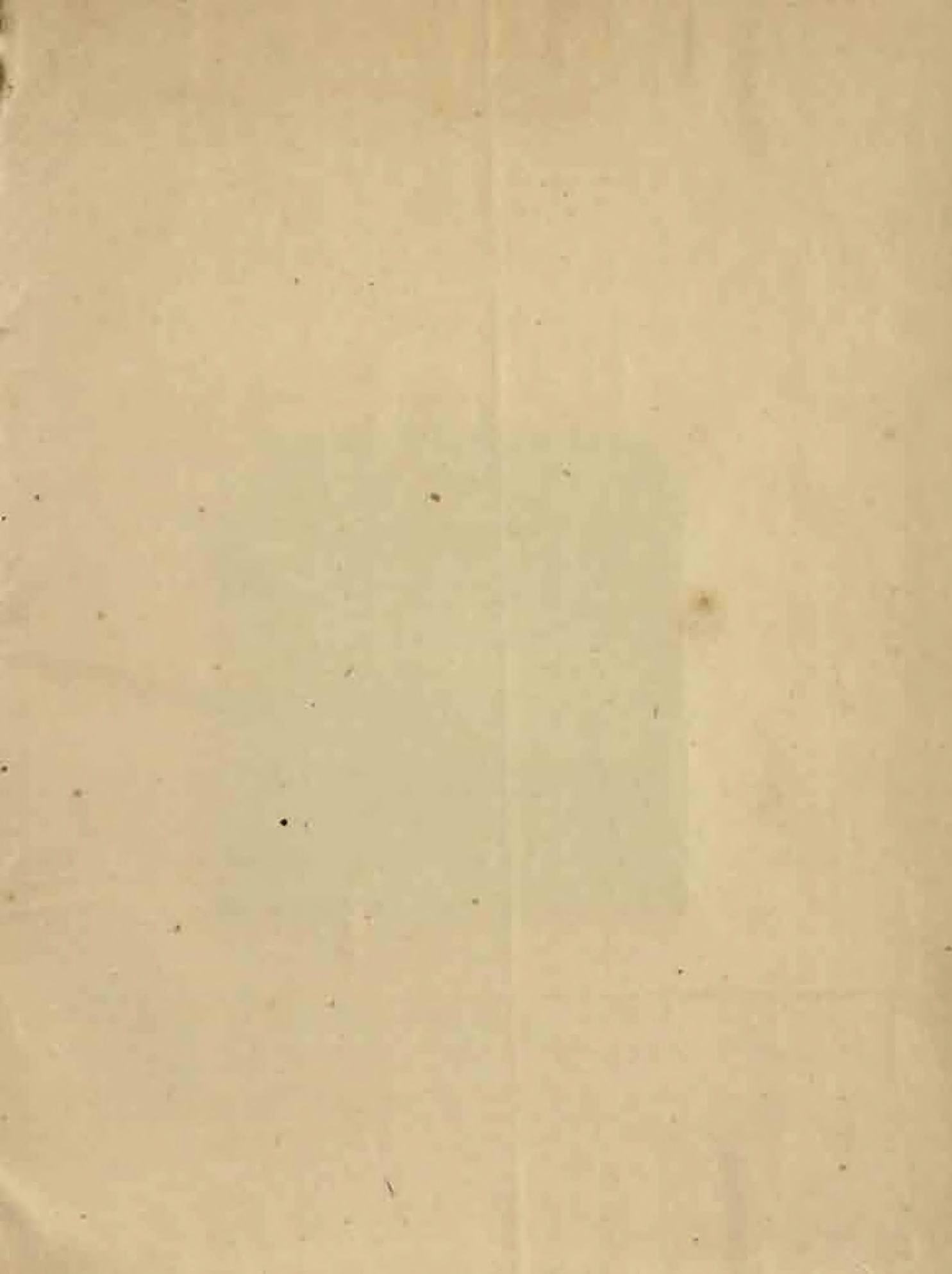
8. The Chairman drew the attention of members to the recent issue of Mr. Firminger's Edition of the "Narrative of Francis Grand" and expressed the hope that all members would buy the work and recommend it to their friends. They would find it as interesting as it was authentic.

9. There being no further business, the meeting then separated.

A. W. WILSON, I.C.S.,

Honorary Secretary, Calcutta Historical Society.





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